# DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 248 722 FL 014 578

| | |
|---|---|
| AUTHOR | Sajavaara, Kari, Ed. |
| TITLE | Cross-Language Analysis and Second Language Acquisition. Volume 1. Jyvaskyla Cross-Language Studies, No. 9. |
| INSTITUTION | Jyvaskyla Univ. (Finland). Dept. of English. |
| REPORT NO | ISBN-0358-6464; ISBn-951-679-105-0 |
| PUB DATE | Nov 83 |
| NOTE | 249p.; For the companion volume to this document, see FL 014 579. |
| PUB TYPE | Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Collected Works - General (020) |
| EDRS PRICE | MF01/PC10 Plus Postage. |
| DESCRIPTORS | Applied Linguistics; Children; Communicative Competence (Languages); *Contrastive Linguistics; Discourse Analysis; English; English (Second Language); Estonian; Finnish; Form Classes (Languages); German; Grammar; Hungarian; Idioms; Immigrants; Language Acquisition; *Language Research; *Language Usage; Language Variation; *Linguistic Theory; Psycholinguistics; *Research Projects; Second Language Instruction; *Second Language Learning; Semantics; Testing; Translation |
| IDENTIFIERS | Bulgaria; Finland; Germany |

## ABSTRACT

A collection of 17 papers, most presented at the Fifth International Conference on Contrastive Projects in June 1982 in Finland, includes: "Present Trends in Contrastive Linguistics," "Contrastive Linguistics in Bulgaria," "Communicative Competence in Foreign Language Teaching: A Project Report," "From Traditional Contrastive Linguistics Towards a Communicative Approach: Theory and Applications within the Finnish-English Cross-Language Project," "Estonian-English Contrastive Studies," "Report on the English-Hungarian Contrastive Linguistics Project," "A Plea for Contrastive Psycholinguistics", "Language Variation and the Death of Language Teaching," "Grammatical Models and Contrastive Analysis," "Applied Contrastive Linguistics: In Search of a Framework", "Some Psychological Aspects of Contrastive Pragmatics or, In Search of a Cognitive Contrastive Analysis of Social Interaction (CCASI)," "A Translation-Based Model of Contrastive Analysis," "Contrastive Pragmatics and the Foreign Language Learner's Personality," "Immigrant Children in Germany: Their Grammatical Ablities in English as a Foreign Language," "Understanding Idioms in First and Second Language Acquisition: A Preliminary Analysis," "The Learning of Coventional Syntagms by Finnish Comprehensive School Pupils," and "On Simplification: Simple and Simplified Language in Examination Papers." (MSE)

***********************************************************************
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
***********************************************************************

ED248722

Jyväskylä Cross-Language Studies
Department of English, University of Jyväskylä
edited by
Kari Sajavaara and Jaakko Lehtonen

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS
MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Kari Sajavaara

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES
INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION
CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

FL 014 578

Jyväskylä
Cross-Language
Studies

No 9

# CROSS-LANGUAGE ANALYSIS
# AND
# SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Volume 1

edited by

Kari Sajavaara

Jyväskylä 1983

© Department of English, University of Jyväskylä
1983

ISBN 951-679-105-0

ISSN 0358-6464

## PREFACE

Most of the papers which are published in Jyväskylä Cross-Language Studies 9 and 10 were presented at the Fifth International Conference on Contrastive Projects entitled "Cross-Language Analysis and Second Language Acquisition". The conference was held at Jyväskylä on June 1-5, 1982. A number of the conference papers have been published in a special issue on cross-language analysis and second language acquisition of Applied Linguistics (Volume 4, Number 3) and in Finlance: the Finnish Journal of Language Learning and Language Teaching (Volume 2). Both were published in 1983.

Some of the papers included in the two volumes were not read at the conference; they come from various contexts, eg. Finnish Summer Schools of Linguistics, or are based on research carried out in Jyväskylä.

Jyväskylä
November, 1983

K.S.

## CONTENTS

Volume 9

Jacek Fisiak — PRESENT TRENDS IN CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS............................ 9

Andrei Danchev — CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS IN BULGARIA..... 39

Gabriele Kasper — COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING: A PROJECT REPORT..... 65

Jaakko Lehtonen and Kari Sajavaara — FROM TRADITIONAL CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS TOWARDS A COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH: THEORY AND APPLICATIONS WITHIN THE FINNISH-ENGLISH CROSS-LANGUAGE PROJECT.......... 81

Heino Liiv — ESTONIAN-ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE STUDIES.... 95

Êva H. Stephanides — REPORT ON THE ENGLISH-HUNGARIAN CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS PROJECT............... 101

Hans W. Dechert — A PLEA FOR CONTRASTIVE PSYCHOLINGUISTICS 115

C.J. Brumfit — LANGUAGE VARIATION AND THE DEATH OF LANGUAGE TEACHING...................... 125

Olga Mišeska Tomić — GRAMMATICAL MODELS AND CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS............................ 133

Jerzy Rubach — APPLIED CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS: IN SEARCH OF A FRAMEWORK............... 141

Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk — SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CONTRASTIVE PRAGMATICS or IN SEARCH OF A COGNITIVE CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION (CCASI).............. 157

Vladimir Ivir — A TRANSLATION-BASED MODEL OF CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS................................ 171

William T. Littlewood — CONTRASTIVE PRAGMATICS AND THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNER'S PERSONALITY.......... 179

Udo O.H. Jung — IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN GERMANY: THEIR GRAMMATICAL ABILITIES IN ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE.................. 189

Edna Aphek and Yishai Tobin — UNDERSTANDING IDIOMS IN FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS................................ 203

Liisa Seppänen — THE LEARNING OF CONVENTIONAL SYNTAGMS BY FINNISH COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL PUPILS.. 225

Irma Sorvali — ON SIMPLIFICATION: SIMPLE AND SIMPLIFIED LANGUAGE IN EXAMINATION PAPERS.......... 241

THE PAPERS IN VOLUME 10 (THE COMPANION VOLUME)

| | |
|---|---|
| Gloria Italiano Anzilotti | SEARCHING FOR LINGUISTIC UNIVERSALS THROUGH CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS |
| M.M. Jocelyne Fernandez | ORAL DISCOURSE AND CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS: TOWARDS A FRENCH VS. FINNO-SCANDINAVIAN MODEL |
| M. Al-Rufai | CULTURAL EFFECT ON THE COMPREHENSIBILITY OF READING TEXTS |
| Vesna Polovina | THE APPLICATION OF SOME PARAMETERS OF TEXT-LINGUISTICS ON CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS |
| Horst Raabe | THE INFLUENCE OF THE FIRST LANGUAGE: AN ANALYSIS OF LEARNERS' QUESTIONS |
| Anna-Brita Stenström | QUESTIONING STRATEGIES IN ENGLISH AND SWEDISH CONVERSATION |
| Wiesław Oleksy | PRAGMATIC EQUIVALENCE IN CONTRASTIVE STUDIES: REQUESTS IN POLISH AND ENGLISH |
| Marja-Kaisa Pihko | GIVING AND GETTING DIRECTIONS: CROSS-LANGUAGE INTERACTION BETWEEN NATIVE AND FINNISH SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH |
| Barbara Kryk | A PRAGMATIC ACCOUNT OF PROPER NAMES IN ENGLISH AND POLISH |
| Paul Robberecht and Marleen van Peteghem | A FUNCTIONAL MODEL FOR THE DESCRIPTION OF MODALITY IN CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS |
| Elżbieta Tabakowska | PRAGMATIC ASPECTS OF DEFINITE DETERMINATION WITHOUT 'PRIOR MENTION' IN ENGLISH AND POLISH |
| L.A. Barnes | PREPOSITIONAL USAGE IN ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS: DIFFERENCES IN SPATIAL PERCEPTION |
| Juhani Härmä | REMARKS ON PRONOMINAL REFERENCE AND DEFINITENESS IN FRENCH AND FINNISH |
| Aleksander Szwedek | EMPHASIS AND ELLIPSIS |
| Kalevi Tarvainen | THE OBJECT IN GERMAN AND ENGLISH ACCORDING TO DEPENDENCY GRAMMAR: A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS |
| Aino Jõgi | ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN ESTONIAN |
| Hortensia Pårlog | ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN ROMANIAN |
| Moira Linnarud | ON LEXIS: THE SWEDISH LEARNER AND THE NATIVE SPEAKER COMPARED |
| Christer Påhlsson | THE SEMANTICS OF AVERAGE AND COMPETITOR: TWO INSTANCES OF DIZZY BUSINESS OR BUSY DIZZINESS |
| Krista Varantola | CHAIN COMPOUNDS - ANGLICISMS IN FINNISH? |
| Taisto Määttä | ASPECTS OF PERCEPTION IN LEARNING SECOND LANGUAGE VOWEL QUALITY |

# PRESENT TRENDS IN CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS

Jacek Fisiak
*Adam Mickiewicz University*
*Poznań*

Contrastive linguistic research has been going on for decades now, with ups and downs in certain parts of the world but steadily developing in others. Although beset with numerous difficulties and prejudices and some of its fundamental concepts still vague, it is far from retreating from the linguistic scene. On the contrary, three journals recently founded and devoted exclusively to contrastive studies (ie. *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* published in Poland (since 1973), *Scpostovitelno ezykoznanie/Contrastive Linguistics* in Bulgaria (since 1976), and *Contrastes* in France (since 1981), serial publications of organized projects (eg. the Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian-English and the Zagreb English-Serbo-Croatian Projects, Jyväskylä Contrastive (since 1979 Cross-Language) Studies, PAKS reports (until 1974), Rumanian-English Contrastive Project publications, Hungarian-English Contrastive Project reports, publications of the Institute für Deutsche Sprache in Mannheim, etc.), numerous international contrastive conferences (since 1975 one in the U.S.A., one in Rumania, eight in Poland, one in the Federal Republic of Germany and one in Finland, to mention a few), sections on contrastive analysis at international congresses, numerous papers on the subject at various linguistic meetings and foremost a constantly growing body of publications (see bibliographies by Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1975, 1981, Siegrist 1977, as well as bibliographies of some pairs of languages published in various journals or collections of papers), all give but unambiguous evidence to a dynamic development of contrastive linguistics. This dynamism, however, can be observed more in Europe than in America, where much less of importance for contrastive linguistics has happened since 1968 when several outstanding linguists presented their views on CL at the 19th Annual Round Table on Linguistics at Georgetown University (Alatis 1968). Some of these views were subsequently developed in Europe but the controversies which surfaced then have definitely overshadowed the positive aspects of CL and arrested its further dynamic growth in the United States. Although the American scene has become less lively in the field, the interest in CL has not disappeared altogether. Courses on

CL have continued to be taught at many universities until today and a fair number of publications by American contrastivists have appeared in print in Europe and America. Two important conferences, also attended by European scholars, were organized in Hawaii in 1971 (papers from the conference were published in *Working Papers in Linguistics* 3/4, University of Hawaii), and another one in Stanford in 1980. Yet it is Europe that has taken over the leading role in promoting and expanding contrastive studies since the late sixties.

The major issues of contention which have been the source of various misunderstandings, often hampered a more dynamic development of CL and have added to its controversial nature are the place of CL in linguistic science (ie. 'pure' or 'applied' linguistics), its status, form and methodology, as well as such fundamental notions as equivalence and, inseparably connected with it, 'tertium comparationis'. In what follows we shall take up these issues, arguing in keeping with our earlier idea (Fisiak 1971, 1975, 1980, 1981) that there are two branches of CL, ie. *theoretical* and *applied*, which in turn may determine the treatment of the other issues. The paper will be concluded with a brief survey of selected areas of contrastive research currently under way.

In order to understand the nature of controversies surrounding CL nowadays, it seems necessary, however, to look back in the history of linguistics for possible roots of contrastive linguistics. Different traditions of linguistics research in different parts of the world no doubt have made a different impact on contemporary developments in CL.

As we have pointed out on several occasions, the roots of contrastive linguistics go back to the last quarter of the nineteenth century (see Fisiak 1975, 1978, 1980), more precisely to *comparative synchronic* linguistic studies, which could develop particularly at the turn of the century due to the work of Baudouin de Courtenay and de Saussure. Baudouin de Courtenay in his comparative grammar of Slavic languages (1902) laid the foundations of contrastive linguistics, pointing out that comparative surveys of languages are of three types, and one of them is such that "linguistic processes can be examined without regard to linguistic kinship, in order to establish the degree of similarity or difference between the structures of two languages (p. 319). As a result of this kind of comparison one can arrive at universal linguistic phenomena" (p. 320). In 1912 Baudouin de Courtenay published his comparative study of Polish, Russian and Old Church Slavonic, a contrastive grammar par excellence with an interesting and unique contrastive analysis of graphemics. Baudouin's tradition was continued by the Prague school and individual scholars in the Slavic world, although Mathesius himself stated in 1929 that his ideas concerning the subject derive, on the one hand, from Humboldt, Steinthal, Misteli and Finck, and Strohmeyer, Aronstein, Deutschbein and Jespersen, on the other (Vachek 1980:9).

The Prague School linguists recognized from the start the theoretical importance of synchronic comparative studies. Mathesius saw it as early as 1923 (Vachek 1980:7), formulated it in his Czech paper in 1927 and presented it in a modified form at the First International Congress of Linguists in the Hague in 1928 (published subsequently in 1929). He terms the synchronic study of a language as *linguistic characterology*. The synchronic comparison of languages is referred to by him as *analytical comparison*. This is what he wrote: "Comparison of languages of different types without any regard to their genetic relations is of the greatest value for any work in concrete linguistic characterology, for it considerably furthers the right understanding of the real nature and meaning of the analysed linguistic facts" (Mathesius 1929 in Vachek 1964:59).

The same year Trnka (1929) presented the principles of the *analytical method of comparison* of languages as oppesed to *diachronic analysis*. Two extensive quotations will best illustrate Trnka's standpoint, which was also representative of the Prague School:

> La grammaire analytique admet en outre possibilité de la comparaison d'états de langue entre langues apparentées de loin seulement ou pas du tout apparentées, et permet ainsi de constater des tendances linguistiques et des cathegories grammaticales plus générales... (Trnka 1929:34).
>
> On emploie la méthode synchronique quand on compare des systémes linguistiques, que ceux-ci représentent des stades successifs d'une même langue ou des stades de langues apparentées ou non. Ce faisant, on se comporte comme quand on compare deux ou plusieurs tableaux: on note les couleurs, les dessins, les rapports des parties au tout, on relève les ressemblances et les différences, et l'on tend à voir dans les détails qui se reproduisent la manifestation de tendances déterminées... La linguistique qui emploie la méthode comparative analytique vise à déterminar les relations réciproques des différents éléments d'un système d'expression donné c'est-à-dire à constater des relations mutuelles cycliques.(Trnka 1929:35-6).

In the following years Mathesius wrote a series of contrastive papers on various aspects of English and Czech grammar (see references and Vachek 1980) and in 1936 once again ascertained his position concerning the analytical comparison of languages and made it even more categorical, saying that "a semantic analysis of any language can be achieved only on a strictly synchronic basis and with the aid of analytical comparison, ie. comparison of languages of different types without any regard to their genetic relations. It is only in this way that we can arrive at a right understanding of the given language as an organic whole, and get a sufficient insight into the real meanings and functions of the single facts which constitute it" (1936:95).

Mathesius' works exerted a strong influence on his younger colleagues, collaborators and disciples who continued and developed his contrastive ideas. Poldauf (1954a) contributed a theoretical paper on 'analytical comparison' and some particular grammatical problems in English and Czech (1954b, 1964), Vachek wrote on the expression of universal negation in English and Czech (1947) as well as on the trend in the use of nominal expressions in the two languages (1961), Firbas (1959, 1961, 1962, 1964, 1968, 1976) analyzed the word order and the communicative dynamism of the sentence in English, Czech and German, and Trnka (1953-5) various aspects of English grammar in comparison with Czech. In the area of Russian and Czech or Slovak the comparative tradition also goes back to the thirties (Kopeckij 1934) and continues on a large scale after 1945 (eg. Ilek 1950-1, 1954a, b; Isačenko 1954-60, 1954, 1956; Kollar 1954; Mrazek 1954; Bauer 1955, 1957; Križkova 1955, 1962a, b; Havránek et al. 1956; Bareš 1956 and others). German and Czech studies are represented by E. Beneš, J. Povejšil, Z. Masařik and others.

At the start of the sixties the term 'confrontational linguistics/analysis' (Horalek 1962, Skalička 1962) begins to appear next to 'comparative'(and later 'contrastive') among Czech linguists. With the numerous works which appeared in the fifties several problems of a theoretical nature cropped up calling for a more precise redefinition of the field (Schwanzer 1966, Beneš 1967). The term 'confrontational' begins to be adopted also by the DDR, Soviet and some Polish and West German linguists. At the meeting in Mannheim in 1970 both Schwanzer (1970) and Beneš (1970) presented updated Czech views on 'confrontational linguistics'. These views were the subject of discussion and further refinements (Zabrocki 1970 and Coseriu 1970).

Our discussion of the development of contrastive studies within the Prague tradition would be incomplete without pointing out that the theoretical considerations of Prague linguists found pedagogical applications from the early days of the development of the 'analytical synchronic comparison' of languages. Since the problem has been competently presented by V. Fried (1965, 1968) let us only repeat briefly that two paths were followed parallely, ie. handbooks for teaching foreign languages based on contrastive principles were published from 1927 (Trnka and Potter 1927, Kopeckij 1934, Vachek 1946, Hais 1958, Bauer et al. 1960 and others) and a series of popular contrastive analyses of Czech and other languages was planned, of which two appeared before 1945 (Mathesius 1936, Nosil 1942). This earlier tradition has been continued along the lines of 'linguistic confrontation' until today.

When one looks back to the turn of the last century, it is easy to observe that the number of comparative synchronic studies began to increase. This was due to the growing opposition to the Neo-grammarian doctrine of historicism. The independent attempts of several linguists, which in distant places at the same time grew out of this dissatisfaction, to establish a new approach and justify its scientific status was something more than natural. The works of Baudouin de Courtenay, Mathesius, or de Saussure, although of considerable importance, were not always the source of inspiration. For instance, Otto Jespersen[1] (1924) in chapter three (Syntax) of his *Philosophy of Grammar* advocates independently a synchronic comparative analysis similar to that of Baudouin de Courtenay and the Prague School as can be seen from the last paragraph of the book. Here is what he said:

> ... we can obtain new and fruitful points of view, and in fact arrive at a new kind of Comparative Syntax by following the method of this volume, ie. starting from C (notion or inner meaning) and examining how each of the fundamental ideas common to all mankind is expressed in various languages, thus proceeding through B (function) to A (form). This comparison need not be restricted to languages belonging to the same family and representing various developments of one original common tongue, but may take into consideration languages of the most diverse type and ancestry. Jespersen (1924: 346-7).

It is also interesting to note that phonetic and phonological contrastive works were more numerous at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth (eg. Grandgent 1892; Viëta 1894, 1903; Passy 1901; Soames 1908; Chlumský 1914; Bogorodickij 1915) than syntactic or semantic ones. One of the reasons may have been the problem of 'tertium comparations' far more difficult to solve for syntax than for phonology.

Baudouin de Courtenay's tradition has been directly continued in Russia and the Soviet Union (eg. Bogorodickij 1915 and Ščerba 1937 for Russian and French, English and German) and in Poland (eg. Kielski 1957-60 for Polish and French). His tradition combined with that of the Prague School was carried on in the fifties and the sixties in the Soviet Union for Russian and German (eg. Gejn 1952, Krušelnickaja 1961), Ukrainian (eg. Krotević 1949; Bajmut et al. 1957), Azerbaijani (Ibragimor 1955, Širalief and Džafarov 1954), Korean (Skalozub 1957), Kazakh (Škuridin 1957, Isangaleva 1959, 1961), Latvian (Bogoljubova 1957, Semenova 1961), Uzbek (Šakirova 1962), Chuvash (Rezjukov 1954), and Ukrainian and English (Žluktenko 1960).

---

[1] Nickel (1972: 9) drew my attention to Jespersen's work.

In early seventies the Russian "comparative synchronic" linguistics evolved into the "confrontational" type of contrastive linguistics. Several dissertations on the theory of contrastive linguistics were written under Professor Akhmanova in Moscow. Her own position and that of most Soviet contrastivists has been best summarized in 1977 by O. Akhmanova and D. Melenčuk in *The Principles of Linguistic Confrontation*:

> There is an ever growing interest for what is usually (or at any rate has been described until quite recently) as *contrastive linguistics*. It is assumed at present that this term (or this metalinguistic designation) unduly narrows the field or research. We shall, therefore, speak of "contrastive analysis" as only a part of a much wider field which is more adequately devoted by the term "linguistic confrontation", because the particular applied aspects of contrastive linguistics, the way it is most frequently approached, is only a fraction of the total problem. "Contrast" implies *difference, opposition*. Before we turn to the differences, we must confront or compare systematically and synchronically objects which may be quite similar, or even "the same" in quite a number of respects. Akhmanova and Melencuk 1977: 4: cf. Fisiak 1975).

Pedagogical applications of contrastive linguistics (ie. comparative/confrontational) have not been neglected in the Soviet Union either. Apart from early general treatment of the issue by Jarceva (1960), some handbooks and numerous papers treating more specific areas of contrastive linguistics have appeared in the journal *Innostrannyje Jazyki v Skole* and other local serial publications, proceedings of conferences, collections of papers, etc. (eg. Poller 1950, Pečatnikov 1950-51, Medovščikova 1958 to name a few).

The second source of contrastive linguistics, as has been mentioned above, is de Saussure. As Wandruszka (1973:1) has pointed out "seit der Begründung einer neuen synchronischen Linguistik durch Ferdinand de Saussure is auch die Frage nach der Notwendigkeit und den Möglichkeiten einer neuen vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft nich mehr verstummt". The first to produce a significant work in this tradition was Charles Bally (1932), who analyzed the structure of French in comparison with German. The other most important works following Bally (whose study appeared in its 3rd ed. in 1950) are Vinay and Darbernet (1958) on French and English, Malblanc (1961) on French and German (both using the term 'comparative stylistics' for 'contrastive linguistics'), Barth (1961) and Darbernet (1963, 1971) on selected problems of French and English or French, English and Spanish. This tradition of contrastive work has been developing mainly in France and Canada, but also in university French departments in other countries (Clas 1968).

The third source of contrastive linguistics (indeed by some linguistics erroneously assumed as the only genuine source, cf. Rusiecki 1976:17 and his untenable argument on noncontinuity of the European tradition, etc. in an otherwise valuable contribution) is the language teaching philosophy developed in the early fourties in the United States and summarized by Fries (1945), who postulated that foreign language courses should be based on the comparison of the native and the foreign language which will reveal differences between the languages thereby identifying areas of difficulty for the learner. Fries (1945:9) stressed that "the most efficient materials are those that are based upon scientific description of the language to be learned, carefully compared with a parallel description of the native language of the learner". Such parallel descriptions began to develop in Michigan and later in other places, first under the label of *comparative study* or simply *comparison* (eg. Sitachitta 1955, Staub 1956, Lado 1956, Malick 1956-57, Subjakto 1958 or Kleinjans 1957-58) and since c. 1960 almost exclusively as *contrastive studies*. The pronouncements of Fries were followed up by works of Fries and Pike (1949), Weinrich (1953) and Haugen (1953) on bilingualism and language contact. The latter two works developed the notion of *interference* (studied earlier by Polivanov 1931 and going back to the Prague School), so crucial for the prevailing foreign language pedagogy and associated contrastive studies.

In 1954 Harris published an important theoretical paper on *transfer grammar*, which he described, roughly speaking, as a device generating utterances of one language from another. The notion exerted some influence on later contrastive work (a notable example is Borkowski and Micklesen 1963) but not to the extent to dominate the American scene.

The turning point in the development of contrastive linguistics in the USA seems to be the publication of Lado's *Linguistics across Cultures* in 1957, where earlier statements by Fries and others were reasserted and a detailed presentation of contrastive procedures was provided. In the Preface Lado states his credo in the following words:

> The plan of the book rests on the assumption that we can predict and describe the patterns that will cause difficulty in learning, and those that will not cause difficulty, by comparing systematically the language and culture to be learned with the native language and culture of the student. (Lado 1957:vii).

In 1959 the Center for Applied Linguistics began preparing a series of contrastive analyses under the general editorship of C. Ferguson. Two volumes appeared in 1962 (Moulton 1962 and Kufner 1962), the other four (Spanish and Italian) in 1965, and four (Russian and French), have not been published. In the preface to Moulton's volume (1962:V) Ferguson defined contrastive studies more broadly than Lado, ie. as dealing both with "similarities and differences between English and each of the five foreign languages".

The contrastive studies produced in America were inseparably connected with language teaching although on many occasions they were simple, often oversimplified taxonomic treatments with no special adjustment for pedagogical purposes (cf. Fisiak 1981), which was to be one of the serious reasons of the failure and disillusion with contrastive linguistics in the States in particular in late sixties and early seventies. It is worthwhile in this connection to return to the now venerable quotation by Fries (1945:9), which is immediately followed by a precise requirement concerning the format of the "parallel comparative description". According to Fries (1945:9), "it is not enough simply to have the results of such a thorough-going analysis; these results must be organized into a satisfactory system for teaching and implemented with adequate specific practice materials through which the learner may master the sound system, the structure and the most useful lexical materials of the foreign language". In practice, however, it was assumed too often that contrastive analyses could be immediately applied to language pedagogy.

Although the understanding of the field was such that it was immediately associated with language teaching, ie. applied linguistics, Gleason (1961:207-8) in the second edition defines contrastive grammar (or transfer grammar) as "descriptive grammars of two languages tied together", which is, however, not a new venture and is most useful in preparing teaching materials. This would suggest that Gleason recognized contrastive grammar as valid descriptive work, one of its possible applications being pedagogical. But his voice represents the minority of linguists. For the majority, contrastive linguistics deals with differences (which is unrealistic, cf. Fisiak 1975; Akhmanova and

Melenčuk 1977) and is part of language pedagogy (Hall 1964:125). Here is the classical American formulation of what contrastive linguistics is as proposed by Lado (1964:2).

> ...contrastive linguistics...compares the structures of two languages to determine the points where they differ. These differences are the chief source of difficulty... . The results of these contrastive descriptions form the basis for the preparation of language texts and tests, and for the correction of students learning a language.

The reductivism in terms of the scope of contrastive linguistics (differences only) and its place in applied linguistics alone together with the association with structural linguistics has brought about criticism from various quarters and disillusionment because of unfulfilled promises and expectations. The ferment in the area of contrastive linguistics in America culminated with the 1968 Georgetown Round Table. The disillusionment, however, affected the United States basically because CL was considered *in toto* part of foreign language pedagogy, ie. applied linguistics. Since the linguistic paradigm with which CL was associated was declining, *mutatis mutandis* was CL.

European scholars, who followed European traditions and were not under a strong influence of America, did not share in the declarations rejecting contrastive linguistics. As has already been pointed out above, the continuity of earlier traditions has resulted in a dynamic development of CL in Europe over the last decade although not free from other controversies and discussions. But it should be pointed out that the European 'synchronic comparative' point of view was recognized in America by some linguists and language teaching experts, particularly with reference to theoretical values of CL and the distinction between those and the practical use. Stockwell (1968:25) wrote this in the conclusion of his Georgetown paper:

> I think contrastive studies are important and useful and that we need more of them; ...I think that while error-counts are of some use, the most hopeful basis for insightful contrastive study is *entirely theoretical* (italics mine); I think that the confused state of contemporary theory is no proper basis for withdrawing from the challenge of this kind of comparative study; I think that the notion that the primary audience for such studies is a pedagogically oriented one is mistaken in part, that such studies are viable objectives for their own sake, just as any good description is...

Wilga Rivers (1968:152) also pointed out the difference between pedagogically and linguistically oriented contrastive descriptions.

> A contrastive analysis of two languages when it is designed with a scientific not a pedagogical intent is not in itself a teaching aid... Since the linguist's aim must be to make the description scientifically elegant rather than pedagogically applicable, the analysis will not normally be directly transferable to teaching materials and situations. Chomsky has already emphasized the difference between a linguistic grammar which is an account of competence and a pedagogic grammar which attempts to provide the student with the ability to understand and produce sentences of a particular language (1966:10). The same distinction may be applied to types of contrastive studies.

A pronouncement similar to Stockwell's was made by linguists[1], who formulated recommendations of the 10th FIPLV Congress in Zagreb in 1968 (Filipović 1972:XXIII-XXV), ie. (c) "The most hopeful basis for effective insightful contrastive study is entirely theoretical; therefore it is recommended that such studies be regarded as viable projects for their own sake, and not directed immediately to pedagogical purposes". For another reason it is worth noting two other recommendations which, unfortunately, were not followed up immediately, ie.

(e) "Contrastive studies should be undertaken beyond the sentence level - in discourse structure, in semantics, and on the socio-cultural and psycholinguistic level.

(f) Contrastive studies should be undertaken in the study of stages of native language development of children".

The trend which could be observed in Zagreb as regards the distinction between theoretical and applied aspects of contrastive linguistics was echoed by the Mannheim conference in 1969 (published in 1970). Contrastive linguistics under the term 'konfrontative Linguistik' is defined as a synchronic comparative study which investigates both similarities and differences between languages (Coseriu 1970:29, L. Zabrocki 1970:33, Schwanzer 1970:12, Beneš 1970:107). Zabrocki and Coseriu also made a clear distinction between theoretical and applied types of contrastive studies, calling the former 'confrontational' and the latter 'contrastive' (with more restricted scope).

At the Zagreb Conference on English Contrastive Projects in 1970 Fisiak (1971) likewise drew a sharp distinction between theoretical and applied contrastive linguistics. This distinction has been followed by the Polish-English contrastive project, which is theoretically biased and has produced a large number of monographs, dissertations and papers which have nothing in common with pedagogical or other applications (see

---

[1] The commission under the chairmanship of J. Alatis consisted of B. Carstensen, R. Filipović, J. Fisiak, W. Marton, K. Mildenberger and G. Nickel.

Płocińska 1982 for bibliographical references as well as Fisiak 1982). This broad definition and distinction deriving directly from the European traditions have been accepted by a large number of researches and some projects in Europe (Wagner 1974:371, 373; Wandruszka 1973; Jackson 1976; Sajavaara 1977, 1980; Berman 1978; Aarts 1982; Kühlwein in press), although not by all. Among others Candlin still places CL in applied linguistics[1] in the *Preface* to James (1980:IV), saying that "because of its closeness, however, to language learning and to the more general concept of bilingualism, contrastive analysis has always been regarded as a major branch of applied, rather than pure linguistics". In view of a large number of existing contrastive works, which have no relevance to applied linguistics, Candlin's conclusion is not convincing unless typological linguistics is to be considered also applied linguistics.

James (1980) himself is inconsistent. He begins with assigning CL to applied linguistics for two reasons: "first, that it is different from 'pure' linguistics in drawing on other scientific disciplines; and, secondly, because linguistics is the science it draws most heavily upon". (Is historical linguistics in view of this also an applied branch of linguistics?). On p.8, however, James reiterates his position stating: "The answer to the question is CA a form of 'pure' or of 'applied' linguistics? *is - of both* (italics are mine). But while 'pure' CA analysis is only a peripheral enterprise in pure linguistics, it is a central concern of applied linguistics." The question that crops up is how to measure the centrality and peripherality of CA? But to end with C. James's opinions, who is undoubtedly one of the greatest authorities on the subject, I would like to point out that, on p.143, he finally recognizes the validity of our distinction into two types of CL, ie. theoretical and applied.

In what follows we shall argue once again for this distinction (see Fisiak 1971, 1975, 1978). The terms 'theoretical' and 'applied' should not be treated as better vs. worse. As Sajavaara (1980:29) has rightly pointed out "the fundamental difference between theoretical and applied CA lies in the basic motivation for such studies. While theoretical contrastive studies strive for generalizations in the description of the structures of two or more languages, applied contrastive studies will have to start from the individual, his attitudes, motivations, and needs, and all the communicative means which he applies to reach his goal". The distinction between theoretical and applied CA has been recently most forcefully argued for by Jackson (1976). His arguments are still valid but for the lack of space will not be repeated here.

---

[1] T. Slama-Cazacu would also consider CL as part of applied linguistics but for other reasons.

Looking back at the development of CL and its present situation it is possible to define the field as a systematic comparative study between two languages (or two language sub-systems) with the aim of revealing differences and similarities. CL has two branches: *theoretical linguistics* (this is part of comparative synchronic linguistics together with language typology) and *applied* (cf. Coseriu 1970, Zabrocki 1970, Jackson 1976, Berman 1978, Sajavaara 1977, 1980). What is still problematic is the exact nature of the relation between the two as also noticed by James (1980). What we call, for want of a better term, *theoretical contrastive study* is a contrastive analysis which takes into account both similarities and differences between two languages and may have *several aims*, beginning with an exhaustive comparative description of two languages which may be the end in itself, a valid endeavour as any other description, and which in turn may help to verify claims postulating universality of given rules or items of grammar or which can contribute to a more insightful description of one of the languages by allowing to arrive at some categories when data from one language are insufficient (eg. Szwedek 1974a, b, 1976, on the category of definiteness in Polish or Zabrocki 1980a, b).

The form of a theoretical contrastive study may be highly abstract and oriented in the direction making it totally unsuitable for application. There is nothing wrong about it as long as it is the case and no claims concerning applications are made. The objection sometimes raised by linguists is that this kind of contrastive work is not really what one would expect from a science since it makes no predictions and after all the verification of the claims mentioned above can be made by the traditional method of cross-language checking which has been incorporated eg. in TG from its inception. This, however, is only partially true. As we see it, theoretical contrastive analysis is part of the comparative synchronic linguistics together with language typology. It is, however, different from typology proper both as to its aims and scope. The cross-language verification as employed by TG linguists and typological classifications are usually based on single features, items or configurations of items, eg. word order in a number of languages. Contrastive studies, on the other hand, include relations of a given rule or item to other rules in one system vis-à-vis relations in another system, thus, providing deeper insights, which allow to reject or modify certain claims with the information otherwise not available. They support typological investigations by giving them more depth. The purely descriptive function of theoretical contrastive grammars, which may be compared to descriptive grammars of the language, has not been challenged. Such contrastive grammars may constitute the foundation for other theoretical and descriptive endeavours. The status of theoretical contrastive studies was discussed in detail in Zabrocki (1980a,b) and therefore we will not dwell upon this issue here.

What has been said above should not imply that applied (ie. pedagogical) contrastive studies are less important. Not at all. They are valid and suffer from some deficiencies of theoretical contrastive studies as they have to be derived at least partially from them though enriched with components which will convert them into pedagogically useful. Their format will depend not only on the data provided by theoretical contrastive studies but also on psycholinguistic theories of language acquisition, sociolinguistic considerations, performance models and a variety of other factors.

It seems that the distinction (not the isolation) between the two types of contrastive studies should guarantee the avoidance of some unnecessary controversies. What should be envisaged as a task for the future at this point is to construct the bridge between them so that the theoretical linguistic contrastive research will be fully utilized (as much as it can and ought to be) in applied contrastive work.

One of the problems which has not been solved definitely until today but which lies at the heart of contrastive studies and all comparative work for that matter is the problem of comparability, ie. the issue of *tertium comparationis*. One wonders how CL has achieved what it has without clearly handling one of its basic premises if not the basic one. According to Krzeszowski (in press), one of the reasons why CL is still ignored by many linguists is that its fundamental concept is hazy and has been by and large neglected in contrastive research. Different TC's (*tertia comp.*) are used for phonology, lexiology and syntax. In phonology the articulatory or acoustic parameters provide the substantial TC. In lexical CAs "the external reality or strictly speaking its psychic image in the minds of language users, provides the *substantial* TC as items across languages are compared with respect to differences and similarities concerning their references to various elements of the reality in the world at large as it is reflected in the minds of language users"

(Krzeszowzki, in press). Carl James (1980:166-78) has recently summarized the present situation with reference to TC's for the three levels of language organization. As regards the syntactic level he has reviewed the proposed *formal* (surface structure), *semantic* (deep structure) and *translation* equivalence and has come to the conclusion that since there are two levels of translation, ie. semantic and pragmatic, and that for CA we ought to equate $L_1$ and $L_2$ forms, which no matter how they diverge superficially, are semantically and pragmatically equivalent, the translation equivalence which includes both the pragmatic and semantic equivalence is the best TC for CA. The limitations of space and time prevent us from going into detail but the shortcomings of both formal and semantic equivalence have been generally known, and the limitation of semantic translations have been likewise discussed to some extent (cf. Ivir 1970, Rülker 1973, Krzeszowski 1974 and Kopczyński 1980).

Krzeszowski has taken up the issue again being previously criticized by Bouton (1976) for his Deep Structure and discussed his position as regards TC for syntax. He rejects the translation equivalence and proposes *sentential equivalence*, combining both "the semantic identity of sentences which are the closest approximations to acceptable word-for-word translations and their synonymous paraphrases (if indeed such paraphrases exist)" (Krzeszowski 1981a:123). He constrains his *sentential equivalence* in two ways:

(1) On the surface structurally and lexically by taking as the primary data to be assigned the status of equivalence "the closest approximations to grammatical word-for-word translations and their synonymous paraphrases".

(2) In the semantic structure by assuming the identity of deep structures whose surface manifestations are restricted to cases delimited by (1).

Translation and semantic equivalence are two different things. The sentential equivalence is semanto-syntactic, where the formal constraint seems to be of paramount importance.

The sentential equivalence, according to Krzeszowski (in press), also embraces the notions of *system equivalence* and *rule equivalence* as "system equivalence can be made explicit only through the examination of constructions in which elements of the compared systems appear, ie. via the notion of semanto-syntactic equivalence. Likewise, any comparison of rules cannot be divorced from an implicit comparison of constructions on which these rules operate. Therefore, the semanto-syntactic equivalence of constructions is the central concept in syntactic CA's..."

Recently Krzeszowski (1981b, in press) has turned his attention to quantitative aspects of CA. Following Becka (1978) he advocates *quantitative* CA, which is statistical in nature and could possibly open new vistas in contrastive research. QCA is text-bound. "QCA may but does not have to use translations as primary data. It is possible to conduct QCA's on texts which are not translations and which are not equivalent in any of the senses of the word "equivalent". ...The texts ...used for QCA may be chosen for comparison only on the grounds that they represent the same register, or the same style, or the same literary genre, or on any platform or reference motivating the comparison. Such texts will probably exhibit *statistical equivalence* by representing a certain fixed pattern of frequencies of occurrences of various linguistic forms characterizing a particular register, style, genre, etc. These patterns of frequencies characterize specific "styles" in particular languages by following a certain statistical norm. Deviations in plus or minus from such a norm may be connected either with non-native performance...or they may be deliberate as parodies" (Krzeszowski 1981b: 103). QCA is opposed to all the other products of CL, termed Structural Contrastive Analysis by Krzeszowski. To what extent QCA and with it the notion of statistical equivalence is a valid and genuine proposal remains to be seen. It is definitely for the future contrastive work to continue the research for adequate and more precisely defined TCs.

One of the issues which also has not received too much attention, possibly because the issue of TC has not been made explicit enough and most of the contrastivists so far have used their intuition and the rule of thumb when juxtaposing primary data from two contrasted languages, is the format of CAs. Is there a specific model for CA or is CA a simple juxtaposition of two language systems or sub-systems? The question has been raised here and there over the past twenty-odd years. Hamp (1968) did not see anything of a systematic contrastive grammar in juxtaposed descriptions of two languages available by then despite the claims made to the effect but only a set of contrastive observations about given two languages. Krzeszowski (1974, 1977) and Lipińska-Grzegorek (1975 (1974)) likewise rejected the old "horisontal" model of contrastive grammar proposing a new "vertical" grammar, deriving equivalent constructions in two languages from a common universal semantic representation. These derived constructions underwent diversification in different places of the lower levels of language structure (cf. Fisiak et al. 1978:15-16).

Lipińska gave a very general outline of such grammar and used *realization rules* as diversifying devices. Krzeszowski (1974 (reprinted 1979)) has given a detailed algorithm of derivation of constructions step by step down to the final representation. Their works though followed by a few contrastivists (Fisiak, forthcoming) in some respects, unfortunately, were not tested in detail (the expectation being Lipińska-Grzegorek's critique of Krzeszowski (1977) and Chesterman's (1980) discussion of some of Krzeszowski's ideas). In his extensive and critical review of Krzeszowski, van Buren (1976) recognized Krzeszowski's work, pointing out that it is a new theory of contrastive grammar combining with it a new theory of grammar per se. The area of the format of CG with an underlying set of theoretical principles needs further testing and elaboration in the future research and constitutes a productive area for ongoing investigations.

One of the trends in applied contrastive studies which occupies a central place is the format of a pedagogical CG. It has been discussed by Marton (1972, 1981) and Kühlwein (in press), among others. They envisage it as a derivative of a general pedagogical grammar where abstract rules are presented together with various pedagogical devices (such as mediators) helping learners to internalize and use these rules (cf. Engels 1974, Sharwood Smith 1977). Marton's contrastive pedagogical grammar is unidirectorial in that it is more systematic in the presentation of the grammatical system of the target language than the native one. "Yet at the same time it will never take metalinguistic knowledge of the native language for granted and will present as much explicit information about the native language as will be thought necessary for the teacher and materials writer to grasp the full scope of interlinguistic contrasts and similarities" (Marton 1981:148-9). The present state of the pedagogical contrastive grammar is far from being finally established. What we have at our disposal now is a number of more or less detailed proposals, programmatic in nature, and a few fragments of contrastive grammar samples. This area remains to be developed in the future on the basis of what has been done so far both in terms of the clarification of underlying principles as well as in terms of contrastive presentations of grammatical structures of two languages for pedagogical purposes.

Closing the few remarks on the format of contrastive grammars it seems unnecessary to deal at length with the problem of changing linguistic theories and their impact on CL. The changes, which according to many, are detrimental to the development fo comparative studies of any sort and their pedagogical applications, will certainly find their way into CL. New views on the nature of language and its structure will be reflected in the rise of new concepts which *eo ipso* will be used in CA's. But this is the way things work in the world of changing ideas and there is nothing we can do about it but to absorb what is better and more powerful as a tool of explanation even if departing markedly from what is familiar. Needless to say new ideas provided by psychology, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, etc. will shape the format of pedagogical grammars.

One of the developments characteristic of the recent linguistic scene is the expanding research interests beyond the sentence limits, ie. *text linguistics* and *discourse analysis*. Papers in this area begin to be more and more numerous. Several projects on contrastive discourse analysis (Jyväskylä, Bochum, Hamburg, Copenhagen) have been set up. Contrastive text linguistics was subject of three major papers presented at the 1980 Conference of Contrastive Projects in Poland (Fisiak (ed.), in press). James (1980) has presented an excellent summary of problems which should be investigated in the two vast fields of contrastive discourse analysis and contrastive text analysis. In the area of CTA such problems can be studied productively as eg. various devices for achieving textual cohesion (eg. lexical devices, reference, ellipsis and the functional sentence perspective, which as has been already pointed out is in fact a product of the Prague School contrastive linguistics). These devices may differ from one language to another, eg. there are languages where ellipsis is not permissible or where FSP operates in a different way than in other languages. Enkvist (in press) in his interesting overview of contrastive text linguistics presents four types of text models (ie. sentence based, predication-based, cognitive text models and interactional text models) and contrastive problems which can be studies with the help of these models, suggesting that:

(a) within the first one (sentence based) the information structure of the clause and the sentence can be best handled;

(b) in the predication-based model - borders between clauses and sentences, which is important in translated texts;

(c) cognitive models are needed when cognition is structured differently by speakers of two languages (eg. the categorization of the world by speakers of two languages is different and expressed in different ways by different lexemes, as "snow" in English and its numerous equivalents in Eskimo);

(d) interactional models can best handle interactional patterns; this last type of text would be discussed by some linguists under the heading of discourse analysis and pragmatics.

Numerous studies concerning word order and FSP in Polish and English have been published by Szwedek (1974a,b, 1976, in press) and can serve as exemplification of one type of CTL. Stein (1979) has presented a contrastive analysis of sentence connections in English and German.

Contrastive discourse analysis deals with conversational interaction in two languages. In a recent excellent study Faerch and Kasper (in press) analyzed linguistic devices (called gambits) maintaining and regulating discourse in German and Danish. The discourse regulating gambits include go-on, receipt and exclaim for the *uptaking* function, starter, receipt, exclaim (conjunction) for *turntaking*, etc. Their analysis based on the Bochum role play corpus and the Danish Copenhagen corpus collected by C. Faerch has indicated that there exists functional equivalence between formally related gambit tokens and there were fewer differences than one initially expected. Another CA of gambits worth mentioning here is an earlier study by House (1980) on German and English. Valuable contributions have also come from Jyväskylä, eg. Sajavaara et al. (1980) on the methodology and practice of contrastive discourse analysis, Saario (1980) on interactional activities in discourse between native and Finnish speakers of English, and Ventola (1980) on conversation management.

These studies should serve as a signpost for further investigations of the kind.

CTA and CDA are relatively new fields with tremendous potentials, which were noticed by Gleason as early as in 1968.

Recent years have witnessed a growth of interest in pragmatics, which was parallel by the work in contrastive pragmatics (Zimmerman 1972, Riley 1979, Bublitz 1978, 1979; Oleksy 1979, in press; Fillmore 1982, Kalisz 1981). The problem with pragmatics, however, as pointed out by Fillmore, is that "there is no characterization of linguistic pragmatics on which linguists are in agreement, nor is there, in fact, a universally convincing case that such a field exists". As has already been pointed out, some phenomena which are the subject of investigation of pragmatics (if recognized as an independent field of research) are often dealt with under the heading of text linguistics (cf. Enkvist, in press) or discourse analysis (cf. James 1980). The interest in contrastive pragmatics has centered so far usually on speech acts and the performative analysis. An interesting contribution to the field of CP is Fillmore's paper (in press) analyzing pragmatic functions of formulaic expressions and German pragmatic particles with their English equivalents (*doch, zwar, etwa, nämlich, ja, denn*). Little contrastive work has been done in this field in comparison with eg. various structural aspects of CA. The field of CP also has a great potential and should be developed alongside the two previously mentioned fields for the benefit of the understanding of language use and language usage. The importance of pedagogical applications of these fields can hardly be overlooked.

Finally I would like to mention the field of contrastive sociolinguistics which has been promoted, among others by K. Janicki in several of his writings (1977, 1979a,b,c). In his programmatic papers he has identified several areas of research, some of which he has submitted to detailed scrutiny (eg. a contrastive study of styles in English and Polish).

Concentrating on some general issues and *macrolinguistic* problems nothing has been said about the *microlinguistic* works. This is for the reason of concentrating on areas which were, and by and large still are, controversial and on those fields which were seriously neglected until recently, as well as for the reason of the lack of space. Since contrastive research in the area of phonetics, phonology and grammar has been developing intensively, it would take twice as much space to characterize but briefly the current trends in contrastive microlinguistics. A cursory glance at contrastive bibliographies, journals, collections of papers, programmes of linguistic congresses, etc. will provide best evidence on the uninterrupted development of this area of contrastive linguistics.[1]

---

[1] Current issues in theoretical contrastive phonology have been presented in the volume edited by S. Eliasson, *Theoretical Issues in Contrastive Phonology* (Heidelberg: Groos, in press). Both phonological and syntactic problems have been presented in several papers in Fisiak (in press).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aarts, F. 1982. The contrastive analysis debates: problems and solutions, *SAP* 14, 47-68.

Akhmanova, O. and D. Melenčuk, 1977. *The Principles of Linguistic Confrontation.* Moscow: MGU.

Alatis, J.E. (ed.) 1968. *19th Annual Round Table on Linguistics and Language Studies.* Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University. (=*GURT*).

Bajmut, T.V. et al. 1957. *Porivnal 'na grammatika ukraïns'koi i rosijskoï mov* (A comparative grammar of Ukrainian and Russian). Kiev: Radjans'ka Škola.

Bally, Ch. 1932 (repr. 1950). *Linguistique générale et linguistique française.* Bern: Francke.

Bareš, K. 1956. O konkurenci vidu v českêm a ruskêm jazyce (On the competition of aspect in Czech and Russian), *Časopis pro Slovanské Jazyky, Literaturu a Déjiny SSSR 1*, 566-79.

Barth, G. 1961. *Recherches sur la fréquence et la valeur des parties du discours en français, en anglais et en espagnol.* Paris: Didier.

Baudouin de Courtenay, J. 1902. *Sravnitel'naja grammatika slavjanskix jazykov v svjazi z drugimi indoevropejskimi jazykami.* St.Petersburg: no publisher. Excerpts reprinted in English translation in E. Stankiewicz (ed.) 1972, *A Baudouin de Courtenay Anthology*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 319-322.

Baudouin de Courtenay, J. 1912. *Pol'skij jazyk sravnitel'no s russkim i drevnecerkovnoslavjanskim* (Polish in comparison with Russian and Old Church Slavonic). St.Petersburg: no publisher.

Bauer, J. 1955. *Časove souvěti v ruštině a v češtině.* Temporal clauses in Russian and Czech), *Sovětská Kazykověda* 5, 321-339.

Bauer, J. 1957. Russkie sojuzy v sopostanlenii s češskimi (Russian conjunctions in comparison with Czech), *Sbornik Praci Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské Univ.* 6, A.5, 8-24.

Bauer, J. et al. 1960. *Přiručni mluvnice ruštiny pro Čechy* (A manual of Russian grammar for Czech learners). Praha: Statní Pedagogické Nakladatelství.

Bečka, J.V. 1978. Application of quantitative methods in contrastive stylistics, *Prague Studies in Mathematical Linguistics* 6, 129-147.

Beneś, E. 1967. Otázky konfrontace češtiny s nemčinon (Questions concerning confrontation of Czech and German), *CMF* 49, 95-104.

Beneś, E. 1970. Das deutsche Passiv im Vergleich mit dem tschechischen, in *Probleme der kontrastiven Grammatik*, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 107-126.

Berman, R.A. 1978. Contrastive analysis revisited, *ISB* 3, 212-232.

Bogoljubova, N.D. 1957. K sravneniju predložnyx konstrukcij russkogo i latyšskogo jazykov (On the comparison of prepositional constructions in Russian and Latvian), *Izvestija Akad. Nauk Latvijskoj SSR* 6, 25-32.

Bogorodickij, V.A. 1915. Fiziologija proinošenija jazykov francuzkogo, anglijskogo i nemeckogo sravnitelno s russkim (Physiology of the pronunciation of French, English and German as compared with Russian), *Lekciji po obščemu jazykovedeniju*, Kazan: no publisher, 65-78.

Borkowski, C. and L. Mickelesen, 1963. A contrastive study of the impersonal sentences of Polish and Russian. Paper presented at the LSA meeting, Chicago, December 1963.

Bouton, L.F. 1976. The problem of equivalence in contrastive analysis, *IRAL* 14, 143-163.

Bublitz, W. 1978. *Ausdrucksweisen der Sprechereinstellung im Deutschen und Englischen. Untersuchungen zur Syntax, Semantik und Pragmatik der deutschen Modalpartikel und Vergewisserungsfragen und ihrer englischen Entsprechungen.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Bublitz, W. 1979. Tag questions, transformational grammar and pragmatics, *PSiCL* 9, 5-22.

van Buren, P. 1976. Rev. of T.P. Krzeszowski, *Contrastive Generative Grammar*, *ISB* 1, 250-329.

Cherubin, D. 1971. Zur kontrastiven Grammatik, *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 38, 206-218.

Chesterman, A. 1980. Contrastive generative grammar and the psycholinguistic fallacy, *PSiCL* 11, 17-24.

Chlumský, J. 1914. Les consonnes anglaises comparées aux consonnes françaises, *Revue de Phonetique* 4, 189-217.

Clas, A. 1968. *Essai de stylistique comparée français-anglais-allemand.* Unpubl. diss. University of Tübingen.

Coseriu, E. 1970. Über Leistung und Grenzen der kontrastiven Grammatik, In *Probleme der Kontrastiven Grammatik*, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 9-30.

Darbelnet, J. 1963. Valeurs sémantiques du verbe en français et en anglais, *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 9, 32-39.

Darbelnet, J. 1971. Accent de phrase et dialectique en anglais et en français, in *Interlinguistica, Sprachvergleich und Übersetzung*, Festschrift zum 60. Geburstag von Mario Wandruszka, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 416-424.

DiPietro, R.J. 1971. *Language Structures in Contrast.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Eliasson, S. (ed.) in press. *Theoretical Issues in Contrastive Phonology.* Heidelberg: Groos.

Engels, L.K. 1974. Foreign-language learning process, *Communication and Cognition* 7, 237-256.

Enkvist, N.E. in press. Contrastive linguistics and text linguistics, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive Linguistics: Prospects and Problems*, The Hague: Mouton.

Faerch, C. and G. Kasper, in press. "*Ja und? - og hva' sa?* - a contrastive discourse analysis of gambits in German and Danish, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive Linguistics: Prospects and Problems*, The Hague: Mouton.

Ferguson, C.A. 1962. General introduction to the (contrastive) series, in W.G. Moulton, *The Sounds of English and German*, Chicago: University of Chicago, V-VI.

Filipovič, R. (ed). 1972. *Active Methods and Modern Aids in the Teaching of Foreign Languages. Papers from the 10th FIPLV Congress*. London: OUP.

Filipovič, R. 1979. Contrastive analysis: general-linguistic or pedagogical relevance, *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrebiensia* 24, 197-208.

Fillmore, C. in press. Remarks on contrastive pragmatics, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive Linguistics: Prospects and Problems*, The Hague: Mouton.

Firbas, J. 1959. Thoughts on the communicative function of the verb in English, German and Czech, *BSE* 1, 39-63.

Firbas, J. 1961. On the communicative value of the Modern English finite verbs, *BSE* 3, 79-104.

Firbas, J. 1962. Ze szovnávacích studií slovoslednýych (From comparative word-order studies), *SaS* 23, 161-174.

Firbas, J. 1964. From comparative word-order studies, *BSE* 4, 111-128.

Fisiak, J. 1971. The Poznań Polish-English Contrastive Project, in R. Filipovič (ed.), *Zagreb Conference on English Contrastive Projects*, Zagreb, University.

Fisiak, J. 1975. The contrastive analysis of phonological systems, *Kwartalnik Neofilologiczny* 22, 341-51. (Repr. Fisiak 1980, 215-224).

Fisiak, J. (ed.) 1980. *Theoretical Issues in Contrastive Linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Fisiak, J. (ed.) 1981. *Contrastive Linguistics and the Language Teacher*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Fisiak, J. (ed.) in press. *Contrastive Linguistics: Prospects and Problems*. The Hague: Mouton.

Fisiak, J., M. Lipińska and T. Zabrocki 1978. *An Introductory English-Polish Contrastive Grammar*. Warsaw: PWN.

Fried, V. 1965. The Prague School and foreign language teaching, *Prague Studies in English* 11, 15-32.

Fried, V. 1968. Comparative linguistic analysis in language teaching, in H. Jalling (ed.), *Modern Language Teaching: Papers from the 9th FIPLV Congress*, London: OUP, 38-46.

Fries, C.C. 1945. *Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

Fries, C.C. and K. Pike 1949. Coexistent phonemic systems, *Language* 25, 29-50.

Gejn, N.V. 1952. O kategoriji vida v russkom i nemeckom jazykax (On the category of aspect in Russian and German), *Trudy Vojennogo Instituta Inostrannyx Jazykov* 1, 19-37.

Gleason, H.A. 1961$^2$. *An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics*. New York: Holt.

Gleason, H.A. 1968. Contrastive analysis in discourse structure, in J.E. Alatis (ed.), *GURT* 1968, 39-63.

Grandgent, C.H. 1892. *German and English Sounds*. Boston: Ginn.

Hais, K. 1958. *Anglicky v 30 lekcích* (English in 30 lessons). Prague: Státni Pedagogicki Nakl.

Hall, R.A.,jr. 1964. *Introductory Linguistics*. Philadelphia: Chilton Books.

Hammer, J.M. and F.A. Rice 1965. *A Bibliography of Contrastive Linguistics*. Washington, D.C.: CAL.

Hamp, E.P. 1968. What a contrastive grammar is not, if it is, in J.E. Alatis (ed.), *GURT* 1968, 137-147.

Harris, Z.S. 1954. Transfer grammar, *IJAL* 20, 259-270.

Haugen, E. 1953. *The Norwegian Language in America*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Univ. of Philadelphia Press.

Havránek, B. et al. 1956. *Kapitoly ze srovávací mluvnice ruské a česke* (Chapters from comparative grammar of Russian and Czech). Praha: Nakladatelství ČSAV.

Horalek, K. 1962. Kvantitativní aspekt konfrontačního výzkumu (The quantitative aspect of contrastive research). *Československá rusistika* 7, 213-214.

House, J. 1980. Gambits in deutschen und anglischen Alltagsdialogen, in W. Kühlwein and A. Raasch (eds.), *Sprache und Verstehen* 2, Tübingen: Narr, 101-107.

Ibragimor, D. 1955. Kategorija vremeni glagolov v russkom i azerbajdzanskom jazykax, I (The category of tense of verbs in Russian and Azerbaijani), *Učenyie Zapiski Azerbajdźanskogo Gos. Univ.* 6, 91-99.

Ilek, B. 1950-51. Vyjadřování současných děju v ruštině a češtině (The expression of present action in Russian and Czech), ČMF 34, 102-108.

Ilek, B. 1954a. O některých zvláštnich rysech ruského záporu ve srovnání a českým (On some peculiar properties of Russian negation in comparison with Czech), *Sborník Vysoké Školy Pedagogicke v Olomouci* 1, 27-43.

Ilek, B. 1954b. Volba a postavení subjektu v ruštiné a v češtiné (The choice and place of subject in Russian and Czech), *Studia a Prace Linguistické* 1, 275-295.

Isačenko, A.V. 1954. O imperatíve v ruštině a slovenčine (On the imperative in Russian and Slovak), *Sovětska Jazykověda* 4, 1-11.

Isačenko, A.V. 1954-60. *Grammatičeskij stroj russkogo jazyka u sopostovlenii s slovakim* (Grammatical structure of Russian in comparison with Slovak) 2 vols. Bratislava: Vyd.SAV.

Isačenko, A.V. 1956. Poznámky k reflexívam v ruštine, slovenčině a češtině (Remarks on reflexives in Russian, Slovak and Czech), *Československa Rusistika* 1, 64-73.

Isangaleva, V.A. 1959. *Russkie predlogi i ix ekvivalenty v kazaxskom jazyke* (Russian prepositions and their equivalents in Kazakh). Alma Ata: Izd. Akad. Nauk Kaz. SSR.

Isangaleva, V.A. 1961. *Upotreblenie padežej v kazaxskom i russkom jazykax* (The use of cases in Kazakh and Russian). Alma Ata: Izd. Akad. Nauk Kaz. SSR.

Ivir, V. 1970. Remarks on contrastive analysis and translation, *YSCECP, B.Studies* 2, 14-25.

Jackson, H. 1976. Contrastive linguistics - what is it?, *ITL* 32, 1-32.

James, C. 1980. *Contrastive Linguistics*. London: Longman.

Janicki, K. 1977. On the feasibility of pedagogical contrastive sociolinguistics, *PSiCL* 6, 17-24.

Janicki, K. 1979a. *Toward Contrasting Communicative Competence*. Edmonton: Linguistic Research, Inc.

Janicki, K. 1979b. Contrastive sociolinguistics - some methodological considerations, *PSiCL* 10, 33-40. (Reprinted in a revised version as "Toward contrastive sociolinguistics" in Fisiak (ed.) 1980).

Janicki, K. 1979c. Toward contrasting styles, *PSiCL* 9, 23-33.

Jarceva, V.N. 1960. O sopostavitel'nom metode izučenija jazykov (On the comparative method of teaching languages), *Naučnye Doklady Vysšej Školy Filologičeskie Nauki* 1, 3-14.

Jespersen, O. 1924. *The Philosophy of Grammar*. London: Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Kalisz, R. 1981. *The Pragmatics, Semantics and Syntax of the English Sentences with Indicative THAT Complements and the Polish Sentences with ZE Complements. A Contrastive Study*. Gdańsk: University.

Kielski, B. 1957-60. *Struktura jezyków francuskiego i polskiego w Świetle analizy porównawczej* (The structure of French and Polish in the light of comparative analysis). 2 vols. Łódz: Łódskie Towarzystwo Naukowe.

Kleinjans, E. 1957-58. A comparison of Japanese and English object structures, *Language Learning* 8, 47-52.

Kollar, D. 1954. Neosobně věty v ruštině a slovenčině (Impersonal sentences in Russian and Slovak), *Sovětská Jazykověda* 4, 423-430.

Kopczyński, A. 1980. *Conference Interpreting: Some Linguistic and Communicative Problems*. Poznań: UAM.

Kopeckij, L.V. 1934. *Ruština pro Čechy* (Russian for Czech learners). Prague: Unie.

Krížková, H. 1955. K problematice praesentu historického v ruštině a v češtině (On the problem of historical present in Russian and Czech), *Sovětská Jyzykověda* 5, 241-255.

Krížková, H. 1962a. Über den Ausdruck verschiedener Handlungsphasen im Russischen und Tschechischen, *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 7, 113-124.

Krížková, H. 1962b. K problematice kategorie času v ruštině a v češtině (On the problem of the category of tense in Russian and Czech), *Československá Rusistika* 7, 195-200.

Krotevič, E.V. 1949. Sintaksičeskie otnošenija meždu slovami i sposoby ix vyraženija v russkom i ukrainskom jazyke (Syntactic relations among words and ways of their realization in Russian and Ukrainian), *Voprosy Slavjanskogo Jazykoznanija* 2, 169-190.

Krušelnickaja, K.G. 1961. *Očerki po sopostovit'el'noj grammatike nemeckogo i russkogo jazykov* (Outlines of a comparative grammar of German and Russian). Moscow: Izd. Lit. na Inostrannyx Jazykax.

Krzeszowski, T.P. 1974. *Contrastive Generative Grammar*. Łódź: University. (Reprinted by Günter Narr Verlag, Tübingen in 1979).

Krzeszowski, T.P. 1977. Contrastive analysis in a new dimension, *PSiCL* 6, 5-16. (Also reprinted in Fisiak (ed.) 1980).

Krzeszowski, T.P. 1981a. The problem of equivalence revisited, *IRAL* 19, 113-128.

Krzeszowski, T.P. 1981b. Quantitative contrastive analysis, *Studia Linguistica* 35, 102-113.

Krzeszowski, T.P. in press. Tertium comparationis, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive Linguistics: Prospects and Problems*, The Hague: Mouton.

Kühlwein, W. in press. Pedagogical limitations of contrastive linguistics, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive Linguistics: Prospects and Problems*, The Hague: Mouton.

Kufner, H.L. 1962. *The Grammatical Structures of English and German*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lado, R. 1956. A comparison of the sound systems of English and Spanish, *Hispania* 39, 26-29.

Lado, R. 1957. *Linguistics across Cultures*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Lado, R. 1964. *Language Teaching*. New York: McGrow-Hill.

Lado, R. 1972. Meine Perspektive der kontrastiven Linguistik 1945-1972, in G. Nickel (ed.), *Reader zur kontrastiven Linguistik*, Frankfurt/M.: Athenäum, 15-20.

Lehn, W. and W.R. Slager 1959. A contrastive study of Egyptian Arabic and American English: the segmental phonemes, in M.J.M. Norris (ed.)

1963, *Selected Articles from "Language Learning"* 2, 110-118.

Lipińska, M. 1975. Contrastive analysis and the modern theory of language, *PSiCL* 3, 5-62.

Lipińska-Grzegorek, M. 1977. *Some Problems of Contrastive Analysis: Sentences with Nouns and Verbs of Sensual Perception in English and Polish*. Edmonton: Linguistic Research, Inc.

Malblanc, A. 1961. *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'allemand*. Paris: Didier.

Malick, A.P. 1956-57. A comparative study of American English and Iraqi Arabic consonant clusters, *Language Learning* 7, 65-87.

Marton, W. 1972. Pedagogical implications of contrastive studies, *SAP* 4, 115-25. (Reprinted in Fisiak (ed.) 1981).

Marton, W. 1981. Towards the definition of contrastive pedagogical grammar, in W. Kühlwein et al. (eds.), *Kontrastive Linguistik und Übersetzungswissenschaft*, München: Fink, 142-50.

Mathesius, V. 1923. Pronominální podmět v hovorové češtině (The pronominal subject in colloquial Czech), *Slovansky sborník věnovaný F. Pastrnkovi*, 118-121.

Mathesius, V. 1927. Linguistická charakteristika a její místo v moderním jazykozpytu (Linguistics characterology and its place in modern linguistics), *ČMF* 13, 35-40.

Mathesius, V. 1929. On linguistic characterology. With illustrations from Modern English, *Actes du Premier Congres Internationale de Linguistes a la Haye*, 56-63. (Reprinted in J. Vachek (ed.), *A Prague School Reader in Linguistics*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.)

Mathesius, V. 1936a. On some problems of the systematic analysis of grammar, *TCLP* 6, 95-107.

Mathesius, V. 1936b. *Nebojte se angličtiny!* (Do not be afraid of English). Praha: Orbis.

Mathesius, V. 1939. O tak zvaném aktuálnim členěni větném (On the so-called functional sentence perspective), *SaS* 5, 171-4.

Mathesius, V. 1942. Ze srovnávacich studií slovosledných (From comparative word order studies), *ČMF* 28, 187-90, 302-7.

Mathesius, V. 1947. *Čeština a obecný jazykopyt* (The Czech language and general linguistics). Praha.

Medovščikova, S.N. 1958. *Obučenie artikuljacii zvukov anglijskogo jazyka: posobie dlja učitieliej* (Teaching articulation of English sounds: guide for teachers). Moscow: Učpedgiz.

Moulton, W.G. 1962. *The Sounds of English and German*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Mrazek, R. 1954. Deikticke to v češtině a v ruštině (Deictic *to* in Czech and Russian), *Sovětská Jazykověda* 4, 285-304.

Nickel, G. (ed.) 1971. *Papers in Contrastive Linguistics*. Cambridge: University Press.

Nickel, G. (ed.) 1972a. *Reader zur kontrastiven Linguistik*. Frankfurt/M.: Athenäum.

Nickel, G. 1972b. Zum heutigen Stand der kontrastiven Sprachwissenschaft, in G. Nickel (ed.), *Reader zur Kontrastiven Linguistik*, Frankfurt/M.: Athenäum, 7-14.

Nosil, J. 1942. *Poznajte němčinu* (Get acquainted with German). Prague: Orbis.

Oleksy, W. 1979. *Questions in English and Polish*. Edmonton: Linguistic Research, Inc.

Oleksy, W. in press. Towards pragmatic contrastive analysis, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive Linguistics: Prospects and Problems*, The Hague: Mouton.

Passy, P. 1901. *Petite phonétique comparée des principales langues européenes*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Pečatnikov, A.D. 1950-51. Suffiksi slovo-obrazovanija v sovremennom russkom jazyke i nekotorye ix ekvivalenty v anglijskom, francuzskom i nemeckom jazykax (Word-forming suffixes in modern Russian and some of their equivalents in English, French and German), *Inostrannyje Jazyki v Škole* 6, 35-45: 1, 32-37.

Poldauf, I. 1954a. Srovnávání s materstinou pri vedeckém zkoumání jazyku (The comparison with the mother-tongue in language research), *Sbornik VSP v Olomouci*, 45-72.

Poldauf, I. 1954b. Infinitiv v anglictine (The infinitive in English), *ČMF* 36, 9-23.

Poldauf, I. 1964. The third syntactic plan, *TLP* 1, 241-255.

Polivanov, E. 1931. La perception des sous d'une langue étrangere, *TCLP* 4, 79-96.

Poller, P.J. 1950. Sistema pričastij russkogo i nemeckogo jazykov (The system of participles in Russian and German), *Inostrannyje Jazyki v Škole* 5, 36-42.

Rezjukov, N.A. 1954. *Očerki sravnitel'noj grammatiki russkogo i čuvašskogo jazykov* (Outlines of Russian and Chuvash comparative grammar). Cheboksary: Čuvašgosizdat.

Riley, P. 1979. Towards a contrastive pragmalinguistics, *PSiCL* 10, 57-78. (Reprinted in Fisiak (ed.) 1981).

Rivers, W.M. 1968. Contrastive linguistics in textbook and classroom, in J.E. Alatis (ed.), *GURT* 1968, 151-158.

Rosén, H.B. 1978. Über einige theoretische Grundlagen der Kontrastivanalyse, *Folia Linguistica* 12, 1-16.

Rülker, K. 1973. Zur pragmatischen Invarianz bei der Translation, in

A. Neubert and O. Kade (ed.), *Neue Beiträge zu Grundfragen der Übersetzungswissenschaft*, Leipzig: Athenäum Verlag, 29-35.

Rusiecki, J. 1976. The development of contrastive linguistics, *ISB* 1, 12-44.

Saario, A. 1980. Interactional activities in discourse between native and Finnish speakers of English, in K. Sajavaara and J. Lehtonen (eds.), *Papers in Discourse and Contrastive Discourse Analysis*. Jyväskylä: University, 57-82.

Sajavaara, K. 1977. Contrastive linguistics past and present and a communicative approach, in K. Sajavaara and J. Lehtonen (eds.), *Contrastive Papers*, Jyväskylä, 9-30.

Sajavaara, K. 1981. Expanding the contrastive analysis framework, in W. Kühlwein et al. (eds.), *Kontrastive Linguistik und Übersetzungswissenschaft*, München: Fink, 53-64.

Sajavaara, K. and J. Lehtonen (eds.) 1975. *A Select Bibliography of Contrastive Analysis*. Jyväskylä: University.

Sajavaara, K. and J. Lehtonen (eds.) 1980. *Papers in Discourse and Contrastive Discourse Analysis*. Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies 5. Jyväskylä: University.

Sajavaara, K. and J. Lehtonen 1980. Prisoners of code-centred privacy: reflections on contrastive analysis and related disciplines, in K. Sajavaara and J. Lehtonen (eds.), *Papers in Discourse and Contrastive Discourse Analysis*. Jyväskylä: University, 7-26.

Sajavaara, K. and J. Lehtonen 1981. A bibliography of applied contrastive studies, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive Linguistics and the Language Teacher*, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 243-279.

Sajavaara, K. et al. 1980. The methodology and practice of contrastive discourse analysis, in K. Sajavaara and J. Lehtonen (eds.), *Papers in Discourse and Contrastive Discourse Analysis*, Jyväskylä: University, 27-55.

Šakirova, N. 1962. O grammatičeskoj kategorii čisla v russkom i uzbekskom jazykax (On the grammatical category of number in Russian and Uzbek), *Ilmij Asarlari* 202, 76-86.

Ščerba, L. 1937. *Fonetika francuzskogo jazyka. Očerk francuzskogo proiznošenija v sravnenii s russkim*. (4th ed. 1953). Moscow: Izd. Lit. na Inostrannyx Jazykax.

Schwanzer, V. 1966. Prinzipielles zu interlingualen Strukturvergleichen, *Philologica* 18, 5-17.

Schwanzer, V. 1970. Bemerkungen zur Konfrontation deutscher und slawischer Verbalformen und Verbalstrukturen, in *Probleme der kontrastiven Grammatik*, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 126-138.

Semenova, M.F. 1961. Sopostovitel'naja grammatika russkogo i latyšskogo jazykov (A comparative grammar of Russian and Latvian), *Pētera Stučkas Latvijas Valsts Universitāte Zinātniskie Raksti* 43, 153-196.

Sharwood Smith, M. 1977. *Aspects of Future Reference in a Pedagogical Grammar of English*. Frankfurt/M.: Lang.

Siegrist, L. 1977. *Contrastive Linguistics Bibliography: English/Other Languages*. Darmstadt (duplicated).

Širaliev, M.A. and Džafarov (eds.) 1954. *Sravnitel'naja grammatika russkogo i azerbajdžanskogo jazykov* (A comparative grammar of Russian and Azerbaijani). Baku: Azerb. Gos.Univ.

Sitachitta, K. 1955. A brief comparison of English and Thai questions, *Language Learning* 5, 130-134.

Skalička, V. 1962. Typologie a konfrontační lingvistika, (Typology and contrastive linguistics), *Československá rusistika* 7, 210-212.

Skalozub, L.G. 1957. *Sopostovitel'noje opisanie soglasnyx sovremennyx korejskogo i russkogo jazykov* (A comparative description of consonants in Korean and Russian). Kiev: Kievskij Gos.Univ. im. Ševčenko.

Škuridin, S.V. 1957. *Kategoria zaloga v russkom i kazaxskom jazykach* (The category of voice in Russian and Kazakh). Alma Ata: Ministerstvo Prosveščenija Kazaxskoj SSR.

Soames, L. 1908. *Introduction to English, French, and German Phonetics*. New ed. revised and edited by W. Viëtor. Part I. London: Sonnenscheim.

Staub, A. 1956. Comparative study of English and Portuguese intonation. Unpublished M.S. thesis, Georgetown University.

Stein, D. 1979. Zur Satzkonnektion im Englischen und Deutschen: ein Beitrag zu einer kontrastiven Vertextungslinguistik, *Folia Linguistika* 13, 303-319.

Stockwell, R.P. 1968. Contrastive linguistics and lapsed time, in J.E. Alatis (ed.), *GURT* 1968, 11-26.

Subjakto, S.U. 1958. Structural comparison of English and Jawanese pronunciation. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Univ. of Texas.

Szwedek, A. 1974a. Some aspects of definiteness and indefiniteness of nouns in Polish, *PSiCL* 2, 203-211.

Szwedek, A. 1974b. A note on the relation between the article in English and word order in Polish, *PSiCL* 2, 213-225.

Szwedek, A. 1976. *Word Order, Sentence Stress and Reference in English and Polish*. Edmonton: Linguistic Research, Inc.

Szwedek, A. in press, Some problems of contrastive analysis and text linguistics, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive Linguistics Prospects and Problems*, The Hague: Mouton.

Trnka, B. 1929. Méthode de comparaison analytique et grammaire comparée historique, in *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* 1, 33-38.

Trnka, B. 1953-55. *Rozbor nynější spisovně angličtiny* (The analysis of present-day standard English). Prague: Státní Pedag. Naklad.

Trnka, B. and S. Potter 1927. *Učebnice jazyka anglického pro středniškoly* (Textbook of English for secondary schools). Prague: Voleský.

Vachek, J. 1946. *Anglicky svéz. a spolehlivě* (A safe and bright road to English). Praha: Hokr.

Vachek, J. 1947. Obecný zápor v angličtině a češtině (Universal negation in English and Czech), *Prague Studies in English* 1, 7-73.

Vachek, J. 1961. Some less familiar aspects of the analytical trend of English, *BSE* 3, 9-78.

Vachek, J. 1980. Vilém Mathesius as forerunner of contrastive linguistic studies, *PSiCL* 11, 5-16.

Ventola, E. 1980. Conversation management from a contrastive point of view, in K. Sajavaara and J. Lehtonen (eds.), *Papers in Discourse and Contrastive Discourse Analysis*, Jyväskylä: University, 109-144.

Vinay, J.P. and J. Darbelnet 1958. *Stylistique comparée du français et de l'anglais*. Paris: Didier.

Wagner, K.H. 1974. Kontrastive Linguistik, in H.L. Arnold and V. Sinemus, *Grundzüge der Literatur- und Sprachwissenschaft*. Vol.2: *Sprachwissenschaft*. München: DTV.

Wandruszka, M. 1973. *Kontrastive Linguistik in Österreich*. Wien: Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Weinreich, U. 1953. *Languages in Contact*. New York: Linguistik Circle of New York.

Zabrocki, L. 1970. Grundfragen der konfrontativen Grammatik, in *Probleme der kontrastiven Grammatik*, Düsseldorf: Schwann, 31-52.

Zabrocki, L. 1975. O tak zwanych 'studiach kontrastywnych' (On the so-called 'contrastive studies'), *Lingua Posnaniensis* 19, 9-29.

Zabrocki, T. 1930a. 'Theoretical contrastive studies': some methodological remarks, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Theoretical Issues in Contrastive Linguistics*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 43-56.

Zabrocki, T. 1980b. On cross-linguistic argumentation, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Theoretical Issues in Contrastive Linguistics*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, 57-67.

Zimmermann, R. 1972. Some remarks on pragmatics and contrastive analysis, in G. Nickel (ed.), *Proceedings of the 3rd AILA Congress, Copenhagen 1972*, Heidelberg: Groos, 297-307.

Žlutenko, Ju.O. 1960. *Porivnjal'na grammatika ukraïns'koi ta anglìskoï mov* (A comparative grammar of Ukrainian and English). Kiev: Učpedvid.

# CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS IN BULGARIA

Andrei Danchev
*Institute for Foreign Students,*
*Sofia*

## INTRODUCTION

*The early work.* As in most countries, contrastive linguistics in Bulgaria began to develop more systematically in the sixties and expanded rapidly in the seventies. Nevertheless, some contrastive analyses appeared much earlier.

The outstanding figure among the pioneers was undoubtedly the late Professor Ivan Lekov (1904-1978), former Head of the Slavonic Philology Department of Sofia University. As early as 1942 he published a paper on phonological oppositions in which he made some contrastive statements about several Slavonic languages. The contrastive element is even more conspicuous in 'Characteristics of the Common Features of Bulgarian and the East-Slavonic Languages' (in Bulgarian), also published in 1942. After a pause of twelve years Lekov continued his work with numerous papers on a wide variety of grammatical, lexical and word-formation features of Bulgarian in contrast with other Slavonic languages. Most of these publications contain interesting observations, some of which have not been fully used yet by present-day linguists. Lekov distinguished *sapostavitelno* (contrastive) from *sravnitelno* (comparative) *ezikoznanie* (linguistics), eg. in his paper 'Proekt za plan na kratka sravnitelna i sapostavitelna istorija na slavjanskite literaturni ezici' (Project for a Brief Comparative and Contrastive History of the Slavonic Standard Languages), published in 1955. The contrastive research of Lekov was typologically oriented, aimed at throwing into relief the features specific to Bulgarian vis-à-vis the remaining Slavonic languages. This is why, in addition to particular problems, he was also interested in general questions of language typology and its connection with contrastive and comparative linguistics (cf. eg. Lekov 1978). Methodologically his approach is connected mainly with the Prague School (for a more detailed discussion of Lekov's publications see Ivančev 1979).

The work of Professor Lekov has been continued by Professor Svetomir Ivančev, present Head of the Slavonic Philology Department of Sofia University and editor-in-chief of the *Sapostavitelno ezikoznanie* (Contrastive Linguistics) journal. Ivančev has written papers on a variety of grammatical and lexicological topics (cf. Ivančev 1978), but most of his work has been in the area of contrastive aspectology, summed up in an important book (Ivančev 1971). Numerous younger linguists continue to work today along the lines of Lekov and Ivančev.

*Working groups.* Contrastive studies in Bulgaria have not been sponsored by any particular institution or organization, nor have they followed a single unified methodology (incidentally, even the contrastive projects in countries with more centralized guidance do not seem to have achieved this). The main centres of research have been Sofia University, Veliko Tarnovo University over the past ten or fifteen years, and the Institute for Foreign Students in Sofia more recently.

Although there does not exist an administratively organized contrastive project, there have been some efforts to coordinate research work. A working group including linguists representing a number of languages (headed by Svetomir Ivančev) was established at Sofia University in 1974. Over the following couple of years the members of the group met occasionally to discuss various methodological and theoretical problems. It functions more like a consultative body than as a working group in the real sense of the word, where papers are discussed and accepted or rejected (for a more detailed account of the activities of the group see Bačvarov 1976 and Gočeva 1977).

Another working group was started (under the guidance of Andrei Danchev) at the Institute for Foreign Students in Sofia in 1977. It consists of the following two sections: (A) contrastive studies of Bulgarian as native language with English, French and German (studied by adult Bulgarian learners in intensive language courses) and (B) contrastive studies of Bulgarian as a foreign language with the various European, Asian and African languages, spoken by the foreign students who study Bulgarian. In addition to theoretical papers, the ultimate aim of this working group is to produce learning materials based on the native languages of the respective learners. The identical purpose of all the members of this group enables them to use more or less the same, 'expanded' analytical model, which combines contrastive linguistics with error analysis and translation theory (cf. Danchev 1978a, 1980).

*Conferences.* There have been a number of bilateral conferences and symposia, eg. of Bulgarian with German, French, Polish, Byelorussian, Roumanian and Greek. Some of these meetings are biennial (eg. Bulgarian-Roumanian); others are held at three years intervals (eg. Bulgarian-Byelorussian). Most of the papers are published in the 'Contrastive Linguistics' journal. Annual contrastive conferences are held by the Institute for Foreign Students in Sofia and the University of Veliko Tarnovo. Four such conferences have been held so far (the last two were on semantic analysis and translation problems in contrastive linguistics) and the special volume containing the papers of the first one is available (Danchev et al. 1980). Despite the relatively frequent bilateral meetings of one kind or another, there has not been a bigger international conference yet involving a larger number of languages.

*Publications. The Sapostavitelno ezikoznanie (Contrastive Linguistics) journal.* Until 1976, when the 'Bulletin for the Contrastive Study of Bulgarian with Other Languages' began to be published by Sofia University, contrastive papers appeared in various journals and university yearbooks in Bulgaria and abroad. From 1978 the above bulletin has continued as a regular bimonthly journal under the title of *Sapostavitelno ezikoznanie* (Contrastive Linguistics). Although most of the material published in it has so far been in Bulgarian, the journal also accepts articles and reviews by foreign contributors in Russian, English, German and French. It carries articles of a general theoretical nature, papers on specific topics, reviews, bibliographies, information on conferences and contrastive projects in other countries and various personalia. Some contrastive studies appear also occasionally in the *Ruski i zapadni ezici* (Russian and Western Languages), *Balkansko ezikoznanie* (Balkan linguistics), *Bolgarskaja rusistika* (Bulgarian Russian Studies) journals and in various other publications.

*Courses.* Courses in contrastive linguistics were started recently for students at Sofia University and for post-graduate students and teachers at the Institute for Foreign Students in Sofia.

LANGUAGES AND TOPICS

A bibliography published in 1976 (Danchev and Bučvarov 1976) lists 412 contrastive publications of Bulgarian with twenty other languages: Arabic, Byelorussian, Czech, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Kazah, Persian, Polish, Roumanian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, Spanish, Swahili, Turkish, Ukrainian and Vietnamese. The overall number of studies has more than doubled since then and is in the vicinity of one thousand today, and some new languages, eg. Finnish and Hindi, have been added to the list. The largest number of studies are with Russian, but in recent years there has been a marked increase in the number of studies of Bulgarian with English, French, German, Polish and some other languages.

Contrastive studies in Bulgaria can be divided into the following four types: (1) theoretical studies of a general nature, (2) studies of specific problems connected with language teaching and/or acquisition, (3) typology, and (4) translation theory and practice.

As can be expected, most of the work has been on grammar, followed by phonetics (with phonology and morphonology) and lexicology, and there have also been some papers on phraseology and stylistics. The interest in contrastive sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics is more recent. Despite certain disproportions, the thematic range can thus be said to be fairly broad with a steady tendency towards further broadening. As regards the theoretical and/or applied status of the studies concerned, all possible kinds are represented, ranging all the way from the purely theoretical to the purely applied, with numerous intermediate types.

Contrastive studies can obviously be classified in a varitey of ways, eg. into topics (language levels and sublevels), theoretical and applied, into languages, etc. It is the latter criterion that emerges as the most convenient one. The grouping into languages is indicated by the fact that the contrastive studies of Bulgarian with the major European languages are methodologically connected with the various linguistic theories and methodologies developed in the respective languages and countries. Therefore, in addition to a section dealing with general topics, the following language groups will be considered: Slavonic, Germanic, Romance, Balkan, Other European Languages, African and Asian Languages.

## GENERAL TOPICS

A certain number of papers have been devoted to theoretical and methodological problems of a more general nature, eg. the connection of contrastive linguistics with language typology (Lekov 1978), the nature and use of the *tertium comparationis* (Danchev 1976, Petkov 1978, the role of translation (Petkov 1978, Danchev 1978a) and of error analysis (Danchev 1980) in contrastive linguistics, the application to contrastive analysis of Coseriu's distinction between language, speech and norm (Kančev 1976), and the contrastive analysis of speech production (Petkov 1976, Jotov 1977). There have also been contributions by foreign authors, eg. on the use of a specific model of analysis (Helbig 1977), the role of deep and surface structure (Viljuman and Soboleva 1979), and the connection of contrastive linguistics with neighbouring disclipines (Sternemann 1978).

When speaking of the various methodological approaches to contrastive analysis in Bulgaria, it is not possible to leave unmentioned the work of Professor Miroslav Janakiev from Sofia University (in collaboration with N.V. Kotova from Moscow University) on the quantitative contrastive study of Bulgarian with the other Slavonic languages. In a couple of articles (Kotova and Janakiev 1976, 1978) these two authors have described the procedure of using a text as a measurable object of analysis. This is achieved through the excerption of samples which contain either an equal quantity of words from the text or an equal quantity of speech sounds. It may be added here that a whole number of the 'Contrastive Linguistics' journal (3, 1978) has been devoted to quantitative contrastive studies.

Polemics have arisen over the use of translation in contrastive analysis. It may be noted, however, that regardless of theoretical considerations of one kind or another, an increasing number of authors in recent years have used translation examples for comparability and verification. More specifically the problem of determining the nature and size of a translation corpus has been discussed in an important article by B. Lingorska (1978).

Terminological points have been raised too, especially concerning the meaning and use of the term 'contrastive' as against 'confrontative'. Although 'contrastive' may not be a very felicitous term indeed (cf. also Fisiak 1981), it must be admitted that it has acquired international currency today.

## SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

*Russian.* The first linguist to work systematically in the field of bilateral Bulgarian-Russian contrastive analysis was Professor G. Tagamlicka (Sofia University and later Veliko Tarnovo University). In 1950 she published a lengthy article on the Bulgarian preposition *sreštu* (against) and its Russian counterparts; a few years later it was followed by a monograph on prepositional government in Bulgarian and Russian (Tagamlicka 1956). Another early Bulgarian-Russian contrastive linguist is Professor B. Blažev from Sofia University. His first publication is on state words in Russian and Bulgarian (1955) and worth noting too is his dissertation on the adverbialization of word phrases in Bulgarian and Russian (1956). Since then he has published more than twenty papers on a variety of topics. Other authors with important contributions to Bulgarian-Russian contrastive studies are N. Dilevski on the main features of the common Slavonic vocabulary in Bulgarian and Russian (1958), M. Leonidova on aspect and tense (1960, 1966), K. Popov on syntactic parallels in the two languages (1962), L. Dončeva on the direct object in negative sentences (1962), K. Babov on the interdependence of prefixes and prepositions in verbal phrases in Russian and Bulgarian (1963), N. Kovačeva on pronouns (1967) and verbal suffixes (1970), I. Červenkova on lexical contrasts (1968), R. Pavlova on prepositional phrases (1971), M. Georgieva on phonetics and phonology (1974) and numerous other authors with a wide variety of publications.

Most of the Bulgarian-Russian contrastive work is connected with language teaching, but there are also studies dealing with various translation problems. The most important work along these lines is by the late Alexander Ljudskanov (1926-1976), author of a well-known book on human and machine translation (1967), which has been translated into German, French and Polish. There have also been numerous contributions by I. Vaseva, summed up in a recent book on the problems of translating from Russian into Bulgarian and vice versa (1980), as well as a book by S. Vlahov and S. Florin on the translation of realia and phraseology (1981).

The survey of Bulgarian-Russian contrastive studies in Bulgaria shows that work has been done on practically all language subsystems: phonetics and phonology, morphology and syntax, lexicology and stylistics. Some authors, eg. K. Babov, M. Leonidova, B. Blažev, K. Popov, E. Gočeva, have also worked on native language interference and error analysis. In recent years the work on error analysis has become more systematic and an extensive file of learners' errors has been gathered at the Russian Department of Sofia University.

The methodology of the Bulgarian-Russian contrastive studies is varied and could loosely be described as belonging to structural-systemic linguistics, connected with the work of the leading Russian

Czech, Polish and other Slavonic linguists over the past several decades. Despite the relatively large quantity of Bulgarian-Russian contrastive studies on all language levels and sublevels, no bigger contrastive grammar of the two languages has been written so far.

*Polish.* The contrastive studies of Bulgarian with Polish have a relatively long history, too. In addition to papers by Lekov (whose work has already been referred to), eg. on word length in the two languages (1964), there are also studies by Ivančev on verbal word-formation in Bulgarian and Polish (1976), B. Lingorska on verbal aspect and tenses (1963, 1976), I. Gugulanova on phonology, morphonology and morphology (1973, 1974), E. Balevska-Stankulova on masculine agentive nouns (1964), A. Popova on some modal constructions in Polish and their equivalents in Bulgarian (1976), I. Kucarov on the citational verbal forms in Bulgarian and their Polish equivalents (1976). There have also been contributions by V. Radeva, S. Radeva, T. Šamraj, L. Selimski and others, and by the Polish authors B. Bojar, K. Herej-Szymanska, M. Korytkowska, V. Koseska-Toszewa, H. Orzechowska, T. Szymanski, and others (for details see the annual bibliographies in the 'Contrastive Linguistics' journal). So far there have been three Bulgarian-Polish conferences: in 1976 (cf. Bulletin 1976, 2), 1977 (Szwierczek 1978), 1979 (Lingorska 1980).

*Czech.* Beside some work by Lekov on interjections in the two languages (1962) and Ivančev on pronouns (1968), there have been papers by M. Konteva on the prefix *po* in the two languages (1972) and by N. Caneva on the Czech and Bulgarian forms of the verb *have* (1979). Worth noting is also the extensive work of the Czech linguist B. Havranek on various topics, of Z. Kufnerova on the category of definiteness in Bulgarian and Czech (1980) and of L. Uhlirova on functional sentence perspective (1980). Compared to Polish, the number of contrastive studies of Bulgarian with Czech is rather limited.

*Byelorussian.* The earliest contribution, combining historical and synchronic data, is again by Lekov and deals with similarities between Byelorussian and Bulgarian (1967). Common typological and genetic features of the two languages were examined at the Bulgarian-Byelorussian symposium in 1976 (cf. Bulletin, 1976, 5), eg. the contrastive analysis of the two languages within the framework of their genetic relationship (I. Lekov), new verbal derivational types in the two languages (S. Ivančev), word order (J. Bačvarov), the functional equivalents of the Bulgarian definite article in Byelorussian (L. Laškova and L. Kueva-Swierczek), expressively coloured suffixes in the two languages (M. Karaangova). There have also been papers by Bujukliev and I. Kucarov and by the Soviet linguists G. K. Venediktov, A. E. Suprun, B. J. Norman, V. A. Karpov and others. Although some language levels only have been investigated so far, it is interesting to note the relatively high number of Bulgarian-Byelorussian contrastive studies, higher for instance than those with Czech or some of the other Slavonic languages. The papers of the second Bulgarian-Byelorussian conference have been published in 'Contrastive Linguistics' (1979, 2-3).

*Other Slavonic Languages.* Due to reasons that will become clearer a little further on, the contrastive studies of Bulgarian with Serbo-Croatian will be considered under the heading of Balkan languages below.

There exists one or two contrastive studies of Bulgarian with Slovene (on predicative constructions by Dejanova in 1972) and Ukrainian (the use of the pluperfect by Bojtjuk in 1981).

## GERMANIC LANGUAGES

*English.* A couple of articles with statements on differences and similarities between Bulgarian and English appeared as early as 1924 (K. Stefanov) and 1943 (English-Bulgarian parallels by R. Rusev). There is an interesting diachronic study of the analytical trends in the two languages (Minkov 1957). Worth noting too is an English-Bulgarian school grammar (Rankova et al. 1955). Contrastive statements can also be found in M. Minkov's 'An Introduction to English Phonetics' (1963). However, the first linguist to work consistently in contrastive linguistics is Professor J. Molhova from the Department of English of Sofia University. Her first contrastive study is on the predicate in English and Bulgarian (1962), followed by a contrastive grammar (Molhova et al. 1965), the examination of some syntactic parallels (the English infinitive and its Bulgarian equivalents in 1970), the nature and use of the article in the two languages (1970), and a number of other publications connected with morphology, syntax, word-formation and lexicology.

A number of relatively more recent contrastive analyses deal with verbal categories such as aspect and tense (Iliev 1973, Danchev and Alexieva 1973, Danchev 1974), transitivity and intransitivity (Molhova 1977), reflexivity (Stamenov 1977), the activo-passive use of verbs (Alexieva 1980), impersonal constructions (Djakova 1974, Kovaceva 1977, Penceva and Savova 1977, Zlateva 1981). Other aspects of language study include adverbial positions in the two languages (Rankova 1967), the English infinitive and its functional equivalents in Bulgarian (Todeva 1980), prepositions (Benatova 1980), quantifiers and implicit negation (Grozdanova 1980), the sequence of tenses (Kmetova 1980), modality (J. Konstantinov, M. Nenkova), pronouns (I. Piperkova). Contrastive work on phonetics and phonology has been done by M. Ekimova (1972), A. Danchev (1978b), V. Despotova (1978).

Translation problems have been considered in Danchev and Alexieva (1973) and in a number of subsequent papers by Alexieva (most of them summed up in her dissertation on explicitness and implicitness in English and Bulgarian, Alexieva 1982). Some contributions have also come from A. Karseva and M. Savova.

There are a certain number of papers on language contact, interference and error analysis by J. Molhova, A. Danchev, H. Stamenov, N. Alexieva, M. Moskovska, and others. A file of errors of Bulgarian learners of English has recently been started at the Institute for Foreign Students in Sofia.

Most of the earlier publications bear the recognizable stamp of Prague functionalist and American descriptivist structuralism. Predictably, the later work has been influenced in varying degrees by generative grammar. However, the influence of the latter has been rather conceptual only and relatively few people have attempted to work wholly and consistently within a generative framework of one kind or another. This is due to a variety of reasons. For one thing, with the exception of a generative phonology (Scatton 1975) and a few isolated brief papers (eg. Anciaux and Pencev 1978), there are practically no generative descriptions of Bulgarian, which faces the prospective Bulgarian-English generative contrastivist with serious problems. Besides, the influence of Prague structuralism and its later developments in Eastern Europe is still rather strong. Finally, the fluctuations in the development of generative grammar since 1965 and in later years have not helped to overcome a certain scepticism on the part of many linguists.

*German.* One of the pioneers in Bulgarian-German and generally in contrastive linguistics in Bulgaria is Professor Pavel Petkov from the Department of German Philology of Sofia University. His first publication is on the expression of Slavonic (Bulgarian) verbal aspect in German (1964). Work has also been done for instance on conversion in the two languages (Měckova-Atanasova 1975), sentence syntax (Borisevič 1977), reflexivity (Slivkova 1977), verbal valency (Bučukovska 1973), impersonal constructions (Kosturkova 1977), set phrases (Vapordžiev 1977), negation (Mečkova-Atanasova 1978), temporal conjunctions (Kostova-Dobreva 1981), definiteness (Grozeva 1980), and phonetics (Simeonova 1980).

There have been several conferences. At the 1977 conference in Leipzig papers were read on the citational form in Bulgarian and its equivalents in German (S. Ivančev, B. Bajčev), modality (B. Fiedler and K. Kostov), person (H. Walter), verbal prefixes (T. Sugareva), and other topics (for more details see Bučukovska 1978). At the next conference (1978) there were papers on the use of the present and future tenses (P.Petkov), the syntax of complex sentences (K. Jäger), attributive sentences (R. Nicolova), and word-formation and lexicology (for details see Nicolova 1979).

Translation problems have been analysed in detail by A. Lilova, author of a book on the social functions of translation (1981). Various instances of language contact, especially the presence of loanwords of German origin in Bulgarian, have been studied by B. Džonov and B. Paraškevov. The methodology of the Bulgarian-German contrastive studies is varied: in certain cases valency grammar models have been used.

No significant contrastive analyses of Bulgarian with any of the other Germanic languages seem to have been done so far.

## ROMANCE LANGUAGES

*French.* The earliest and one of the most prolific authors is Professor J. Simeonov from the Department of Romance Philology of Sofia University. His first paper is on verbal aspect in French and Bulgarian (1967) and he has written a number of papers on related topics since then (for a bibliography of, and extensive comments on, Simeonov's work see Mancev 1977). Other authors with contributions to the contrastive study of verbal categories in the two languages are N. Mihov (1977) and A. Čaušev (1977). One of the most important contrastive publications in Bulgaria is on French-Bulgarian phonetics and phonology by Professor B. Nikolov (1971), Head of the Romance Philology Department of Sofia University and at present Rector of the Institute for Foreign Students in Sofia. His study is based on both auditory and laboratory data and covers the entire sound system of French in contrast with Bulgarian. This study has served as model to several contrastive phonetic studies of Bulgarian with other languages. Extensive work on intonation and interrogative constructions in the two languages has been done by M. Nikov (1979). A number of studies in the field of word-formation (verbal affixes), pronouns and various translation problems have been published by P. Hristov (1979) from the University of Veliko Tarnovo. There has also been research on verbal valency (Čukanova 1980), definiteness and indefiniteness (Atanasova 1980), negation (Gerganova 1980), and adverbial modality (A. Toneva).

In 1980 there was a Bulgarian-French conference, at which some contrastive papers by Bulgarian and French authors were presented, eg. on aspect in French and Bulgarian (J. Feuillet), generic determiners (D. Paillard), verbal prefixes in Bulgarian and their analytical equivalents in French (R. Beškova), nominal sentences (Z. Bojadžiev), semantic relations in complex sentences (P. Hristov), typological parallels (S. Ivančev), diminutivity (B. Krastev), vowel nasality (B. Nikolov), and consonants (B. Simeonov). All the papers have been published in 'Contrastive Linguistics' (1982, 1-2). A second conference will be held soon.

Papers on loan-words and language interference have been published by P. Patev.

As might perhaps be expected, some of the contrastive Bulgarian-French work in the area of grammar has been influenced by the psychomechanics postulates of G. Guillaume.

*Spanish.* The earliest publication is by P. Pashov on grammatical gender in Spanish and Bulgarian (1975), but the most active author so far has been I. Kančev with publications on object doubling in the two languages (1972), existential verbs (1977), phonetics and phonology (1978). There is work in progress on prepositions in the two languages (M. Zaharieva).

*Other Romance Languages.* Apart from work on loan-words there do not seem to exist any substantial contrastive studies of Bulgarian with Italian and Portuguese. There are quite a few studies of Bulgarian with

Roumanian, which will be considered in the next section.

## BALKAN LANGUAGES

A certain proportion of the contrastive studies in Bulgaria have been slanted typologically with the purpose of outlining the specific features of Bulgarian as both a Slavonic and a Balkan language. The application of contrastive analysis to areal studies may perhaps seem unusual to linguists used to associating contrastive linguistics above all with language teaching (and possibly with translation theory). However, it should be pointed out that an increasing number of scholars nowadays apply contrastive analysis to the investigation of historical language contacts. The particular emphasis on this kind of research can perhaps be regarded as one of the characteristic features of contrastive linguistics in Bulgaria. Studies of this type are becoming increasingly important and obviously contribute to the widening of the scope of contrastive linguistics. This kind of contrastive analysis is usually part of a complex approach which includes also history, ethnography, folklore, mythology, etc. An interesting and instructive parallel may be drawn here with the recent world-wide tendency (cf. eg. the 1982 Cross-Language Analysis Conference in Jyväskylä, Finland) towards widening the scope of language teaching (and acquisition) oriented contrastive linguistics by including psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, communication theory, etc.

The study of Bulgarian in contrast with the other Balkan languages has attracted the attention of numerous linguists, but the most significant theoretical contribution has come from Academician Vladimir Georgiev. In a frequently quoted paper on the 'Balkan Sprachbund' (1966) he reviews and discusses the main common features resulting from the partial historical convergence of the genetically only distantly related Balkan languages. Georgiev's observations have been worked out in more detail by I. Duridanov (1977), P. Asenova (1971, 1980), A. Minčeva (1981) and a number of Bulgarian and foreign authors. Many of the contrastive studies involving the Balkan languages are multilateral, but there are naturally a number of bilateral studies of Bulgarian with the following languages.

*Roumanian.* Interest has centered on phonetics and phonology (B. Simeonov), morphology (Mladenov 1970) and, understandably, more specifically on the nature and use of the post-posited definite article in the two languages (Galabov 1962, Vasilev 1968, Alexova 1979), morphosyntactic correspondences (I. Duridanov), syntax (O. Mladenova), pronouns (K. Ilieva), etc. There have been two bilateral symposia so far, in 1978 (for details see Asenova 1979a) and 1980 (see Mladenova 1981), at which some contrastive papers by the authors mentioned above and also by some Roumanian authors were presented.

*Greek.* There have been relatively few contrastive Bulgarian-Greek studies so far. Apart from the multilateral studies of P. Asenova on prepositions and syntax of the Balkan languages, there has been some work on lexical parallels (M. Filipova-Bairova), on lexical borrowing and on interference (I. Palavejska). There have been two symposia so far, in 1978 (for details see Asenova 1979b) and 1980, at which some papers on language contact have been presented.

*Serbo-Croatian.* Although Serbo-Croatian is not usually regarded as a typically Balkan language, as is the case with Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Roumanian and Aroumanian, it is often referred to in the context of contrastive Balkan studies. The most active author has been M. Dejanova, with papers on the modal use of the aorist in the two languages (1968), the auxiliary-less perfect (1970), the predicative, and recently a book on the development of the infinitive in Serbo-Croatian and its ultimate loss in Bulgarian. There are also analyses of masculine nomina agentis (P. Kovačeva), syntactic negation (L. Laškova), and existential sentences (N. Ivanova).

*Albanian.* No significant bilateral contrastive studies of Bulgarian with Albanian seem to have been undertaken so far, although the consideration of Albanian has been included in a number of multilateral studies.

*Turkish.* Although it is not a Balkan language proper, Turkish is naturally often referred to in the work on the Balkan languages. There have been several studies of language contact, but no truly contrastive studies seem to have been produced yet.

## OTHER EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

*Finnish.* There are two Finnish-Bulgarian studies, of the Bulgarian reflexive and its equivalents in Finnish (Paraskevov 1976) and of some verbal nouns in the two languages (Lindstedt 1978).

## ASIAN AND AFRICAN LANGUAGES

The interest in contrasting Bulgarian to various Asian and African languages is fairly recent and stems from the fact that Bulgarian is nowadays taught to an increasing number of Asian and African students in Bulgaria.

*Arabic.* Articles have been published on definiteness in Bulgarian and Arabic (Mihailova 1980), phonetics and phonology (Gegov 1981) and there is work in progress on various aspects of language structure by P. Samsareva, R. Slavova, P. Bojanova, and N. Ibrišimova.

*Vietnamese.* The contrastive study of Bulgarian and Vietnamese is connected above all with Le Kuang Thiem's work on polysemy and other semantic problems (see eg. Thiem 1979), and there are also a couple of studies by Z. Ivanova on syntactic parallels between the two languages.

*Hindi.* Some work on the infinitive and certain prepositional phrases in Hindi and their equivalents in Bulgarian has been done by M. Stojanova.

*Other Asian and African Languages.* On some languages such as Kazah, Persian and Swahili there have been only isolated papers so far, with no systematic work in progress for the time being. Nevertheless, the contrastive studies of Bulgarian with some Asian and African languages are likely to expand in coming years. Most of the contrastive work along these lines is carried out at the Institute for Foreign Students in Sofia.

## CONCLUSION

In a brief survey like this it is naturally impossible to cover adequately all the aspects of contrastive linguistics in Bulgaria. Some authors and studies have been touched upon but fleetingly and others have not even been mentioned at all. Therefore, rather than offering a complete account, this survey is merely intended to provide (it is hoped) certain guidelines to the prospective reader who might be interested in the fairly vast subject of contrastive linguistics in this country.[1]

The bibliography following below is thus inevitably selective: not all the authors and publications mentioned in this survey have been included. However, full bibliographical data can be found in the 'Contrastive Linguistics' journal, especially in the sixth issue of every year. In the present bibliography, all Bulgarian and Russian titles of publications have been transcribed into the Latin alphabet using the international bibliographical transcription system. The translation (in brackets) is in the language of the respective summary. Where no summary, annotation or anything of the kind was available, an English translation has been provided.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexieva, B. 1982. Explicitness and Implicitness in English and Bulgarian. Unpubl. diss., Sofia. 325 pp.

Alexieva, N. 1980. On the Problem of the 'Activo-Passive' Use of Verbs in English and Its Expression in Bulgarian, *English Studies*, Sofia University, 24-36.

Alexova, V. 1979. Nabljudenija varhu upotrebata na opredelitelnija člen v bulgarskija i rumanskija ezik (Observations on the Use of the Definite Article in Bulgarian and Roumanian), *CL* 6, 12-17.

Anciaux, M. and J. Penčev 1978. Can Conditions on Transformations be Universal?, *Linguistique Balkanique* XXI, 1, 35-40.

Asenova, P. 1972. Obštnost v upotrebata na naj-harakternite gramatikalizirani predlozi v balkanskite ezici (Unité dans l'emploi des prépositions les plus caractéristiques grammaticales dans les languages balkaniques), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 61, 1, 177-250.

Asenova, P. 1979a. Ezikoznanieto na Bulgaro-Rumanskija simpozium v Bukurest (Linguistics at the Bulgarian-Roumanian symposium in Bucharest), *CL* 2, 111-114.

---

[1] For reading the final draft of this survey and for helpful comments I am indebted to Prof. J. Molhova, J. Bačvarov and H. Stamenov from Sofia University. The responsibility for any major omissions, instances of inadequate presentation, and all other shortcomings is, of course, mine alone.

Asenova, P. 1979b. Bulgaro-Gracki simpozium (Bulgarian-Greek Symposium), *CL* 3, 122-123.

Asenova, P. 1980. Sur le statut des Balknismes syntactiques, *Linguistique Balkanique* XXIII, 1, 9-19.

Atanasova, I. 1980. Sapostavjane na funkciite na neopredelitelnija člen vav frenski ezik s formata 'edin' v bulgarski ezik (Le probleme de la correspondance des fonctions de l'article indefini en francais et de celles de la forme "edin" en bulgare), in Danchev et al (eds.) 1980, 161-176.

Babov, K. 1963. Zavisimost meždu predstavki i predlozi pri glagolnite slovosačetanija v ruski i bulgarski ezik (Interdependence between Prefixes and Prepositions in Verbal Phrases in Russian and Bulgarian), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 57, 2, 471-568.

Bačvarov, J. 1976. Kratak otčet za dejnosta na Grupata za sapostavitelno izsledvane na bulgarskija ezik s drugi ezici (A Brief Account of the Activities of the Group for the Contrastive Study of Bulgarian with Other Languages), *Bjuletin* 1, 110-112.

Balevska-Stankulova, E. 1964. Dejatelni imena ot mažki rod sas sufiks -ac/-acz i -nik/-nik savremenija bulgarski i polski ezik (Masculine Agentive Nouns with the Suffixes -ac/-acz and -nik/-nik in Modern Bulgarian and Polish), *Izvestija na Instituta za bulgarski ezik* 11, 171-176.

Benatova, P. 1980. Za njakoi značenija na anglijskija predlog *for* v sapostavka s funkcionalnite mu ekvivalenti v bulgarskija ezik (On Some Meaninings of the English Preposition 'for' in Contrast with Its Functional Equivalents in Bulgarian), *CL* 6, 38-45.

*Bjuletin* = *Bjuletin za sapostavitelno izsledvane na bulgarskija ezik s drugi ezici* (Bulletin for the Contrastive Study of Bulgarian with Other Languages), Sofia University.

Blažev, B. 1955. Za dumite, koito spadat kam kategorijata na sastojanieto v ruski i bulgarski ezik (On the Words Belonging to the Category of State in Russian and Bulgarian), *Bulgarski ezik* 1, 44-52.

Bojtjuk, A. 1981. Nabljudenija varhu upotrebata na pluskvamperfekta v bulgarskija, ukrainskija i polskija ezik (Observations on the Use of the Pluperfect in Bulgarian, Ukrainian and Polish), *CL* 1, 31-37.

Borisevič, P. 1977. Kam distribucijata i semantičnata struktura na podloga v nemski i bulgarski ezik (On the Distribution and Semantic Structure of the Subject in German and Bulgarian), *Bjuletin* 3, 35-47.

Bučukovska, A. 1978. Treta konferencija po sapostavitelno ezikoznanie v Leipzig (Nemski ezik v sapostavka sas slavjanskite ezici) (Third Conference of Contrastive Linguistics in Leipzig) (German in Contrast with Slavonic Languages), *CL* 1, 84-87.

Caneva, N. 1979. Po vaprosa za kopulativnosta na českija glagol *mit* v sapostavka s bulgarskija glagol *imam* (On the Copulative Nature of the Czech Verb *mit* in Contrast with the Bulgarian Verb *imam*), *CL* 1, 57-59.

Čaušev, A. 1977. Sapostavitelen pregled na sastava i značenieto na pričastnite formi v bulgarskija i frenskija ezik (Etude comparative de la composition et la signification des formas participiales en bulgare et en francais), *Bjuletin* 1-2, 144-159.

Červenkova, I. 1968. Lexico-semantičeskoe sopostavlenie dvuh genetičeskih rodstvenih slov bolgarskogo i ruskogo jazikov (The Lexical and Semantic Contrastive Study of Genetically Related Words in Bulgarian and Russian), *Izvestia na Instituta za bulgarski ezik* 16, 317-326.

*CL* = *Contrastive Linguistics* (*Sapostavitelno ezikoznanie*), Sofia University.

Čukanova, J. 1980. Opit za ustanovjavane na saotvetstvijata meždu valentnite vrazki na frenskija i bulgarskija glagol (Essai d'ētude des valences des verbes francais et bulgares), in Danchev et al. (eds.) 1980, 83-96.

Danchev, A. 1974. A Slavonic/Bulgarian View of the Aspectual Meaning of the Modern English De-Adjectival -*En* Verbs, *Linguistics* (Mouton) 127, 5-26.

Danchev, A. 1976. Za njakoi strani na sapostavitelnite izsledvanija (On Some Aspects of Contrastive Linguistics), *Bjuletin* 1, 7-26.

Danchev, A. 1978a. Sapostavitelno ezikoznanie, teorija na prevoda i čuždoezikovo obučenie (Contrastive Linguistics, Theory of Translation and Foreign Language Teaching), *CL* 1, 30-47.

Danchev, A. 1978b. Po njakoi problemi na kontrastivnata fonologija (On Some Problems of Contrastive Phonology), *CL* 6, 21-33.

Danchev, A. 1980. Kontrastivna lingvistika, analiz na greškite i čuždoezikovo obučenie (Contrastive Linguistics, Error Analysis and Foreign Language Teaching), in Danchev et al (eds.) 1980, 11-32.

Danchev, A. and B. Alexieva 1973. Izborat meždu minalo svaršeno i minalo nesvaršeno vreme pri prevoda ha Past Simple Tense ot anglijski na bulgarski ezik (The Choice between Aorist and Imperfect in the Translation of the Past Simple Tense from English into Bulgarian), *Annuaire de l'universitē de Sofia: Facultē des lettres* 67, 1, 248-329.

Danchev, A. and J. Bačv[illegible]ov (eds.) 1976. Sapostavitelno izsledvane na bulgarskija ezik s drugi ezici - bibliografija (do kraja na 1975 godina) (The Contrastive Study of Bulgarian with Other Languages - Bibliography; to the end of 1975), *Bjuletin* 4.

Danchev A., Hristov, S. Djakova and P. Borisevič (eds.) 1980. *Parva naučno-metodičeska konferencija 'Sapostavitelno ezikoznanie i čuždoezikovo obučenie' - Veliko Tarnovo, 27. X 1979* (First Conference on Contrastive Linguistics and Foreign Language Teaching - Veliko Tarnovo, 27. X 1979). Veliko Tarnovo University Press.

Dejanova, M. 1968. Kam modalnata upotreba na aorista v bulgarski i sarbo-harvatski ezik (On the Modal Use of the Aorist in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian), *Slavističen sbornik* 3, 63-67.

Dejanova, M. 1972. Za konstrukciite s predikativno opredelenie v slovenski ezik v sravnenie s bulgarski ezik (On Constructions with Predicative Definition in the Slovenian Language in Comparison with the Bulgarian Language), *Ezik i literatura* 1, 25-33.

Despotova, V. 1978. Akustičen analiz na anglijskite fonemi [i:] i [I], proizneseni ot bulgari (Acoustic Analysis of the English [i:] and [I] phonemes pronounced by Bulgarians), *CL* 2, 28-36.

Dilevski, N. 1958. Glavnejšie osobenosti obšteslavjanskoj leksiki sovremenogo bolgarskogo jazika (v sopostavlenii s obšteslavjanskoj leksikoj ruskogo jazija) (The Main Features of the Common Slavonic Vocabulary in Modern Bulgarian (In Contrast with the Common Slavonic Vocabulary in Russian), *Slavističen sbornik* 1, 91-132.

Djakova, S. 1974. Bezlicni strukturi v bulgarski i anglijski ezik (Impersonal Constructions in English and Bulgarian), *Trudove na Velikotarnovskija universitet 'Kiril i Metodij', Filologičeski fakultet* 10, 211-243.

Dončeva, L. 1962. Viraženie prjamogo dopolnenija v ruskih i bolgarskih otricatelnih predloženijah (Die Ausdrücke des direkten Objekts in den negativen russischen und bulgarischen Sätzen), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 56, 171-246.

Duridanov, I. 1977. Zum Begriff des Sprachbundes, *Linguistique Balkanique* XX, 1-2, 17-22.

Ekimova, M. 1972. Intonacija na vaprositelnite izrečenija v bulgarski ezik v sravnenie s anglijski (The Intonation of Interrogative Sentences in Bulgarian in Contrast with English), *Bulgarski ezik* 4, 313-333.

Fisiak, J. 1981. Some Introductory Notes Concerning Contrastive Linguistics, in *Contrastive Linguistics and the Language Teacher* (ed. J. Fisiak), Pergamon Press, 1-12.

Galabov, I. 1962. *Problemat za člena v bulgarski i rumanski ezik* (The Problem of the Article in Bulgarian and Roumanian). Sofia. 150 pp.

Gegov, H. 1981. Nabljudenija varhu bulgarskija i arabskija vokalizam (Observations on Bulgarian and Arabic Vocalism), *CL* 6, 25-29.

Georgiev, V. 1966. Le problème de l'union linguistique balkanique in *Les problèmes fondamentaux de la linguistique balkanique*, 5-21.

Georgieva, M. 1974. Akustičeskie parametri ruskogo bezudarnogo /ы/ v sravnenii s bolgarskim bezudarnim /ъ/ (Les parametres acoustiques du /ы/ russe atone comparé au /ъ/ bulgare atone), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* (Langues et litératures slaves) 57, 1, 219-241.

Gerganova, D. 1980. Za njakoi problemi na otricatelnoto izrečenie v savremenija frenski i bulgarski ezik (A propos de certains problemes de la phrase negative en francais et en bulgare), in Danchev et al. 1980, 41-54.

Gočeva, E. 1977. Kratak otčet za dejnosta na Grupata za sapostavitelno izsledvane na bulgarskija ezik s drugi ezici (A Brief Account of the Activities of the Group for the Contrastive Study of Bulgarian with Other Languages), *Bjuletin* 6, 159-161.

Grozdanova, L. 1980. Vlijanie na otricanieto varhu izbora na anglijskite količestveni dumi *some* i *any* v sravnenie s bulgarskite im korelati (The Influence of Negation on the Choice of the English Words "some" and "any" Relative to Their Bulgarian Correlates), in Danchev et al. 1980, 177-196.

Grozeva, M. 1980. Sapostavitelen analiz na naj-upotrebjavanite determinatori v bulgarski i nemski ezik (Zur konfrontativen Analyse der gebräuchlichsten artikelähnlichen Wörter im Deutschen und Bulgarischen), in Danchev et al. 1980, 143-160.

Gugulanova, I. 1973. *Tipologičeski usporedici meždu polskija i bulgarskija ezik v oblasta na fonologijata i morfologijata* (Typological Parallels between Polish and Bulgarian in the Area of Phonology and Morphology). Unpubl. diss., Sofia. 280 pp.

Gugulanova, I. 1974. Opit za tipologičeska sapostavka na morfonologičeski sredstva v bulgarskija i polskija literaturen ezik (An Attempt at the Typological Comparison of Morphonological Means in Standard Bulgarian and Polish), *Ezik i literatura* 6, 61-66.

Helbig, G. 1977. Zu einigen theoretischen und praktischen Problemen der grammatischen Konfrontation, *Bjuletin* 3, 5-34.

Hristov, P. 1979. Transformacii pri prevoda na bulgarskite narečija za način na dejstvie na frenski ezik (Transformations in the Translation of Bulgarian Adverbs of Manner into French), *CL* 1, 79-88.

Iliev, C. 1973. Sapostavitelno izsledvane na bulgarskoto minalo nesvršeno vreme i na anglijskoto minalo prodalžitelno vreme (A Comparative Study of the Bulgarian Past Perfect Tense and the English Past Progressive Tense), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 66, 1, 71-91.

Ivančev, S. 1968. Tretoličnoto mestoimenie v českija ezik/v usporedica s bulgarskija (The Third Person Pronoun in Czech/parallelly with Bulgarian), *Slavistični izsledvanija* 2, 27-47.

Ivančev, S. 1971. Problemi na Aspektualnosta v Slavjanskite Ezici (The Problems of Aspectuality in the Slavonic Languages). Sofia. 263 pp.

Ivančev, S. 1976. Edin neopisan semantiko-slovoobrazovatelen glagolen model v savremenija bulgarski ezik (v sapostavka s polski ezik) (A Semantic Word-formation Model of the Verb in Modern Bulgarian/in Contrast with Polish), *Bjuletin* 2, 19-30.

Ivančev, S. 1978. Prinosi v bulgarskoto i slavjanskoto ezikoznanie (Contributions to Bulgarian and Slavonic Linguistics). Sofia. 364 pp.

Ivančev, S. 1979. Ivan Lekov, *CL* 2, 114-116.

Jotov, C. 1977. Sapostavitelnie izsledovanija jazikov licom k social-no-rečevoj praktike (The Contrastive Study of Languages Oriented to Social Speech Practice), *Bjuletin* 6, 57-70.

Kančev, I. 1972. Njakoi nabljudenija varhu upotrebata na udvoenoto dopalnenie v ispanskija i bulgarskija ezik (Some Observations on Object Doubling in Spanish and Bulgarian), *Ezik i literatura* 1, 52-58.

Kančev, I. 1976. Za ezikovija kontakt meždu ezikovi sistemi s različna struktura (On the Contact between Language Systems with Different Structures), *Bjuletin* 6, 27-44.

Kančev, I. 1977. Njakoi nabljudenija varhu ispanskite glagoli *ser* i *estar* v sapostavitelen plan s glagola *sam* v bulgarskija ezik (Algunas observaciones sobre los verbos espanoles *ser* y *estar* en comparacion con el verbo bûlgaro *sam*), *Bjuletin* 1-2, 160-184.

Kančev, I. 1978. Za razstojanijata meždu fonemite i diferencialnite priznaci v konsonantnite sistemi na ispanskija i bulgarskija ezik (On the Distances between the Phonemes and their Distinctive Features in the Consonantal Systems of Spanish and Bulgarian), *CL* 2, 52-65.

Kmetova, T. 1980. Slučai na nesaglasuvanost na glagolnite vremana v anglijski ezik (Cases of Non-observance of the Sequence of Tenses in English), in Danchev et al. 1980, 55-64.

Konteva, M. 1972. Razvitie i raznoobrazie na semantikata na predstavkata *po* v bulgarskija i češkija ezik (Development and Variety of the Semantics of the Prefix *po* in Bulgarian and Czech), *Sbornik dokladi i saobstenija*, Sofia, 15-23.

Kostova-Dobreva, H. 1981. Kam temporalnoto otnošenie na podčinenite obstojatelstveni izrečenija za vreme sas sajuzite *ehe*, *bevor* i *predi da* v nemskija i bulgarskija ezik (On the Temporal Relation of Subordinate Adverbial Clauses of Time with *ehe* and *bevor* in German and *predi da* in Bulgarian), *CL* 1, 38-41.

Kosturkova, M. 1977. Njakoi naj-tipični vidove bezlični izrečenija v bulgarski i nemski ezici (Einige typische unpersönliche Sätze im Bulgarischen und Deutschen), *Bjuletin* 3, 58-76.

Kotova, N. and M. Janakiev 1976. Kakvo e naj-ubdono da sapostavjame količestveno v slavjanskite ezici (What is Most Convenient for Quantitative Contrasting in the Slavonic Languages), *Bjuletin* 1, 27-39.

Kotova, N. and M. Janakiev 1978. Glotometrijata eksplicira osnovite na sapostavitelnata lingvistika (Glottometrics for the Explicitation of Contrastive Linguistics), *CL* 3, 3-15.

Kovačeva, N. 1967. Leksiko-semantičeskie osobenosti grupi opredelitelnih mestoimenij *ves* i *každij*, *vsjakij*, *ljuboj* v plane sopostavlenija s bolgarskom jazikom (Particularités semantiques et lexiques de pronoms definis *ves*, *každij*, *vsjakij*, *ljuboj* par rapport a la langue bulgare), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 61, 1, 469-493.

Kovačeva, M. 1977. Semantiko-sintaktična struktura na bulgarskoto *studeno mi e* i anglijskoto *I am cold* (The Semantic and Syntactic Structure of the Bulgarian *studeno mi e* and the English *I am cold*), *Bjuletin* 4-5, 61-89.

Krumova, L. 1979. Njakoi tipove obosobjavane v narodno-razgovornija ezik (varhu material ot bulgarskija ezik v sapostavka s polskija) (Some Types of Apposition in Popular Colloquial Speech in Bulgarian Contrasted with Polish), *CL* 3, 34-38.

Kucarov, I. 1976. Preizkaznite formi v savremenija knižoven bulgarski ezik i saotvetstvijata im v polski ezik (The Citational Forms in Modern Standard Bulgarian and their Equivalents in Polish), *Bjuletin* 2, 56-64.

Kufnerova, Z. 1980. Za kategorijata 'opredelenost' v bulgarskija i českija ezik (On the Category of Definiteness in Bulgarian and Czech), *CL* 4, 16-23.

Laškova, L. 1981. Za njakoi strukturni osobenosti na sarboharvatskija knižoven ezik v sapostavka s bulgarski ezik (On Some Specific Structural Features of Standard Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian), *CL* 3-4-5, 51-60.

Lekov, I. 1942. Harakteristika na obštite čerti v bulgarski i iztočnoslavjanski (Eine Charakteristisk der gemeinsamen Züge im Bulgarischen und Ostslavischen), *Sbornik BAN* 37, 1-104.

Lekov, I. 1955. Proekt za plan na kratka sravnitelna i sapostavitelna istorija na slavjanskite literaturni ezici (Project for a Brief Comparative and Contrastive History of the Slavonic Standard Languages), *Bulgarski ezik* 4, 316-318.

Lekov, I. 1962. Nabljudenija nad tipologijata na zvukopodražatelnite meždumetija v češki i bulgarski ezik' (Some Observations on the Typology of Onomatopaeic Interjections in Czech and Bulgarian), *Acta Universitatis Carolinae, Filologica* 3, *Slavica Pragensia* IV, 419-424.

Lekov, I. 1964. Dalžina na dumata v bulgarskija i polskija ezik (Word Length in Bulgarian and Polish), *Prace Filologiczne* 18, Warszawa, 2, 49-55.

Lekov, I. 1978. Kam po-priemliva analiza i postrojka na opitite za sapostavitelni i tipologični izsledvanija v slavjanskoto ezikoznanie (Towards a More Acceptable Analysis of Contrastive and Typological Slavonic Studies), *CL* 5, 3-13.

Leonidova, M. 1960. Upotreblenie vremenih i vidovih form v ruskih perevodah I. Vazova (Emploi des formes verbales de temps et d'aspect dans les traductions du poete bulgare Ivan Vazov en langue russe), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 54, 1, 109-172.

Lilova, A. 1981. *Uvod v obštata teorija na prevoda* (Introduction to the General Theory of Translation). Sofia. 340 pp.

Lindstedt, J. 1978. Nabljudenija varhu njakoi otglagolni saštestvitelni v bulgarskija in finskija ezik (Observations on Some Verbal Nouns in Bulgarian and Finnish), *CL* 4, 36-40.

Lingorska, B. 1963. Bulgarskite saotvetstvija na polskoto minalo vreme (The Bulgarian Equivalents of the Polish Past Tense), *Ezik i literatura* 2, 53-69.

Lingorska, B. 1976. Kam vaprosa za funkcionalno-semanticnite saotvetstvija na bulgarskija pluskvamperfekt v polskija ezik (On the Functional and Semantic Equivalents of the Bulgarian Pluperfect in Polish), *Bjuletin* 2, 83-97.

Lingorska, B. 1978. Za njakoi problemi na korpusa, prednaznačen za sapostavitelni izsledvanija (On Some Problems of the Corpus for Contrastive Studies), *CL* 4, 3-14.

Lingorska, B. 1980. Polsko-bulgarski sintaktični paraleli - treta bulgaro-polska konferencija' (Polish-Bulgarian Syntactic Parallels - the Third Bulgarian-Polish Conference), *CL* 5, 52-56.

Ljudskanov, A. 1967. *Preveždat čovekat i mašinata* (Mensch und Maschine als Übersetzer). Sofia. 158 pp.

Mančev, K. 1977. Sapostavitelnite izsledvanija za frenski i bulgarski ezik na Josif Simeonov (The French-Bulgarian Contrastive Studies of J. Simeonov), *Bjuletin* 1-2, 189-215.

Mečkova-Atanasova, Z. 1975. Konversija v nemski i v bulgarski ezik (Conversion in German and Bulgarian), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 70, 3, 101-121.

Mečkova-Atanasova, Z. 1978. Negation von modalen prädikativen Syntagmen im Deutschen und im Bulgarischen, *Linguistische Arbeitsberichte*, 20, 171-179.

Mihailova, S. 1980. Clenuvaneto v bulgarskija i arabskija ezik - njakoi osobenosti i sapostavki (The Use of the Articles in Bulgarian and Arabic), *CL* 2, 30-35.

Mihov, N. 1977. Gramatičeskata kategorija "vreme" vav frenski i bulgarski ezik (Le problème de la correspondance de l'aspect du verbe francais et du vid du verbe bulgare), *Bjuletin* 1-2, 104-142.

Minčeva, A. 1981. Strukturnite čerti na balkanskija ezikov sajuz s ogled na savremenija bulgarski ezik (The Structural Features of the Balkan Sprachbund from the Point of View of Modern Bulgarian), *CL* 3-4-5, 136-144.

Minkov, M. 1957. Za analitizma v anglijski i bulgarski ezik (On Analytical Structure in English and Bulgarian), in *Ezikovedski izsledvanija v čest na akademik Stefan Mladenov*, 503-514.

Minkov, M. 1963. *An Introduction to English Phonetics*. Sofia. 158 pp.

Mladenov, M. 1970. Edna morfologična usporedica v bulgarski i rumanski ezik (A Morphological Parallel in Bulgarian and Roumanian), *Izvestija na Instituta za bulgarski ezik* 19, 893-897.

Mladenova, O. 1981. Vtori bulgaro-rumanski simpozium (The Second Bulgarian-Roumanian Symposium), *CL* 1, 137-139.

Molhova, J. 1962. Strukturni i semantični osobenosti na skazuemoto v anglijski v sravnenie s bulgarski (Structural and Semantic Features of the Predicate in English Compared to Bulgarian), *Bulgarski ezik* 6, 499-511.

Molhova, J., N. Kolin and C. Ivanova 1965. *Anglijska gramatika v sravnenie s bulgarski ezik: Sintaksis* (English Grammar in Comparison with Bulgarian. Syntax). Sofia. 156 pp.

Molhova, J. 1968. Anglijsko-bulgarski sintaktični paraleli (English-Bulgarian Syntactic Parallels), *Slavistični izsledvanija*, 319-340.

Molhova, J. 1970. *Harakter i upotreba na člena v bulgarski i anglijski ezik* (Nature and Use of the Article in Bulgarian and English). Sofia. 139 pp.

Molhova, J. 1977. Kam vaprosa za kategorijata prehodnost-neprehodnost v anglijski i bulgarski ezik (On the Category of Transitivity - Intransitivity in English and Bulgarian), *Bjuletin* 4-5, 92-113.

Nicolova, R. 1979. Vtora bulgaristična bulgaro-nemska konferencija v Leipzig (The Second Bulgarian-German Conference in Leipzig), *CL* 5, 85-86.

Nikolov, B. 1971. Étude de phonétique et de phonologie contrastives (Domaines français et bulgare), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 64, 2, 1-75.

Nikov, M. 1976. Leksiko-sintaktična struktura na saštinskite obšti vaprosi vav frenski i bulgarski ezik (Structure lexico-syntaxique des veritables questions totales en français et bulgare), *Bjuletin* 3, 115-134.

Paraškevov, B. 1976. Funkcionalni ekvivalenti na bulgarskoto vazvratno lično mestoimenie vav finski ezik (Funktionale Äquivalente des bulgarischen Reflexivpronomens im Finnischen), *Bjuletin* 3, 135-145.

Pašov, P. 1965. Nabljudenija varhu gramatičeskija rod v bulgarski i ispanski ezik (Observations sur le genre grammatical en bulgare et en espagnol), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 59, 1, 87-131.

Pavlova, R. 1971. Sopostavitelno isledovanie konstrukcij s predlogami pričinogo značenija v bolgarskom i ruskom sovremenih literaturnih jazikah (The Contrastive Study of Causal Prepositions in Modern Bulgarian and Russian). Unpubl. diss. Moscow. 359 pp.

Penčeva, M. and M. Savova 1977. Nabljudenija varhu njakoi anglijski i bulgarski bezlicni konstrukcii, izrazjavašti prirodni javlenija (Observations on Some Impersonal Constructions Expressing Natural Phenomena in English and Bulgarian), *Bjuletin* 4-5, 163-169.

Petkov, P. 1964. Izrazni sredstva v nemski ezik za slavjanskija glagolen vid (Ausdrucksmittel im deutschen für den slawischen Verbalaspekt), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 58, 1, 1-53.

Petkov, S. 1976. Sistemata na rečevite načini - osnova za sapostavitelno izsledvane na ezicite (Le système des modes de parole - base d'une étude contrastive des langues), *Bjuletin* 6, 3-26.

Petkov, P. 1978. Opit za klasifikacija na častnite disciplini v sravnitelnoto ezikoznanie (An Attempt at Classifying the Branches of Comparative Linguistics), *CL* 1, 7-18.

Popov, K. 1962. Rusko-bolgarskie sintaksičeskie paraleli (Russian-Bulgarian Syntactic Parallels), *Spisy University J.E. Purkyne v Brne, Filosoficka fakulta* 85, *Otázky slovanské syntaxe*, 115-126.

Popova, A. 1976. Njakoi polski modalni konstrukcii i tehnite bulgarski sactvetstvija (Some Polish Modal Constructions and their Bulgarian Equivalents), *Bjuletin* 2, 128-138.

Rankova, M., T. Atanasova, N. Radulova and R. Rusev 1956. *Anglijska gramatika v sravnenie s bulgarski ezik* (English Grammar in Comparison with Bulgarian). Sofia. 360 pp.

Rankova, M. 1967. Adverbial Positions in English and Bulgarian, *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 61, 2, 179-224.

Scatton, E. 1975. *Bulgarian Phonology*. Cambridge, Mass. 224 pp.

Simeonov, J. 1967. Nabljudenija varhu vida na glagola vav frenski i v bulgarski ezik (Observations sur l'aspect verbal en francais et en bulgare), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 61, 2, 317-339.

Simeonova, R. 1980. Bulgaro-nemska interferencija (Bulgarian-German Vowel Interference), *CL* 3, 14-17.

Slivkova, D. 1977. Zalogovata prinadležnost na tri tipa vazvratni konstrukcii v nemski ezik i saotvetnite vazvratni konstrukcii v bulgarski ezik (Genus-Zugehörigkeit von drei Typen Reflexivkonstruktionen im Deutschen und den entsprechenden Reflexivkonstruktionen im Bulgarischen), *Bjuletin* 3, 77-111.

Stamenov, H. 1977. Beležki varhu refleksivnosta v bulgarski i anglijski ezik (Remarks on Reflexivization in Bulgarian and English), *Bjuletin* 4-5, 191-213.

Sternemann, R. 1978. Konfrontativna lingvistika, častna gramatika i teorija na ezika (Confrontational Linguistics, Particular Grammars and Language Theory), *CL* 1, 19-29.

Swierczek, L. 1978. Polsko-bulgarska sapostavitelna konferencija na tema 'Glagolat v polskija i bulgarskija ezik (The Polish-Bulgarian Contrastive Conference on the Verb in Polish and Bulgarian), *CL* 2, 94-95.

Tagamlicka, G. 1950. Bulgarskijat predlog "srestu" i negovite ruski saotvetnici (The Bulgarian Preposition *sreštu* and its Counterparts in Russian), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 46, 4, 1-75.

Tagamlicka, G. 1956. K voprosu o predložnom upravlenii v ruskom i bolgarskom jazikah (On Prepositional Government in Russian and Bulgarian), *Annuaire de l'université de Sofia: Faculté des lettres* 51, 1, 275-448.

Thiem, L. K. 1979. Sapostavitelno semantičen analiz na polisemantični rodninski vrazki v bulgarskija i vietnamskija ezik (A Contrastive Semantic Analysis of the Polysemantic Kinship Terms in Bulgarian and Vietnamese), *CL* 1, 42-50.

Todeva, E. 1980. Anglijskijat infinitiv i njakoi negovi funkcionalni ekvivalenti na bulgarski ezik (The English Infinitive and Some of its Functional Equivalents in Bulgarian), in Danchev et al. 1980, 97-114.

Uhlirova, L. 1980. Strukturata na temata na izrečenieto i načini za nejnoto izgraždane v českija i bulgarskija ezik (The Structure of the Sentence Theme and its Formation in Czech and Bulgarian), *CL* 6, 23-31.

Vapordžiev, V. 1977. Za njakoi frazeologizmi s povtorenija v bulgarski, ruski i nemski ezik (Zu einigen Phraseologismen mit Wiederholungen im Bulgarischen, Russischen und Deutschen), *Bjuletin* 3, 49-57.

Vaseva, I. 1980. Teorija i praktika perevoda (The Theory and Practice of Translation). Sofia. 280 pp.

Vasilev, H. 1968. Nečlenuvaneto na rodninski nazvanija v rumanski i v bulgarski kato ezikovo javlenie (The Absence of the Article in Roumanian and Bulgarian Kinship Terms), *Bulgarski ezik* 2-3, 214-216.

Viljuman, V. V. and P. A. Soboleva 1979. Roljata na dalbokata i povarhnostnata struktura pri kontrastivnite izsledvanija (The Role of Deep and Surface Structure in Contrastive Analysis), *CL* 5, 3-12.

Vlahov, S. and S. Florin 1980. Neperevodimoe v perevode (The Untranslatable in Translation). Moscow. 342 pp.

# COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING: A PROJECT REPORT

Gabriele Kasper
*University of Aarhus*

## GOALS

The following is a report about a research project into "Communicative Competence as a Learning Objective in Foreign Language Teaching (FLT)", which was carried out at Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Federal Republic of Germany, between 1976 and 1981.[1] Although the project was motivated by the discussion about central issues in foreign language pedagogy in Western Germany, and involves foreign language learners with German as their native language, I should think that the problems it set out to tackle, the methodology adopted as well as its results might be of interest to foreign language teachers and researchers in Northern Europe.

As its title implies, the project's orientation was a fundamentally pedagogic one, and was originally motivated by the shift from structurally based objectives and syllabi in FLT to course designs which are based on functional, situational and interactional considerations.

As subscribers to this new approach, the project workers felt that it unfortunately suffered from a serious deficit in that information was lacking about two vital issues:

(1) How do native speakers actually organize their verbal interaction in contexts which are potentially relevant for the FL learner?

(2) How do FL learners who have been taught according to a structural syllabus behave linguistically in interaction with native speakers? More specifically, in what respects does their communicative behaviour in the FL differ from

---

[1] The project workers were Willis Edmondson, Juliane House, Gabriele Kasper, John McKeow and Brigitte Stemmer. The project was financially supported by the German Research Council. -This brief report can obviously only provide an overview on the project's activities. The reader who is interested in more detailed information is referred to the list of project publications. -For reasons of space, reference is made to project publications exclusively. An extensive discussion of the relevant literature can be found in the publications referred to under "Analytical Results".

native speakers? What is the communicative effect of such differences, and how can they be accounted for in process terms?

If answers to those questions were found for some areas of pragmatics and discourse, it was hoped that these could serve as input to the construction of FL courses on a more principled basis.

## EMPIRICAL DESIGN

In order to approach this task with respect to the teaching of English to German learners, empirical data was needed about the communicative behaviour of three groups of speakers: native speakers of English, representing the target norm; native speakers of German, representing the learners' native communicative behaviour; and German learners of English.

It was decided that the discourse type in which the verbal interaction of these groups of speakers was to be observed should be dyadic face-to-face conversations in everyday situations of some interactional complexity, ie. involving some conflict, imposition or obligation which could not be handled in a totally prepatterned, or routinized, manner. Undoubtedly it would have been most desirable to obtain the relevant data from real-life encounters of members of each of the three groups. However, observing conversations which both contained aspects of pragmatics and discourse which are relevant from a teaching perspective, and which were similar enough to allow for cross-linguistic comparison, did not seem to be feasible. We therefore decided to use role play as an elicitation technique.

In constructing the individual role play tasks, the following procedure was adopted: On the basis of various typologies of speech acts and speech functions, three such functions were selected, viz. the regulatory, the attitudinal, and the argumentative function. These functions were transposed into six abstract interactional bases, viz.

1. X wants Y do P
2. P needs to be done
3. Y did P - P bad for X
4. Y did P - P good for X
5. X did P - P bad for Y
6. "Controversy"

In these interactional bases, the X-role stands for a German learner of English who was further characterized as a male or female student between 18 and 25 years of age; the Y-role stands for a native speaker of English. Furthermore, the role relationship between the two participants was specified according to the parameters " ± dominance" and " ± social distance". Thus, two symmetrical and two asymmetrical role constellations emerged, viz.

(a) $X < Y + SD$
(b) $X < Y - SD$
(c) $X = Y + SD$
(d) $X = Y - SD$

As the reader will have noticed, neither the typology of interactional bases nor the one of role constellations is complete: in the first, the basis "X did P - P good for Y" is missing, and in the second, there are no role relationships in which X is the dominant part. The reason for these gaps is practical rather than theoretical: we simply did not consider it likely for the learner of English to be involved in situations of those types.

By combining the six interactional bases with the four types of role constellations, 24 situational patterns were obtained. They served as the basis for constructing 24 concrete situations, whereby the most important criteria for selecting such situations were the assumed communicative needs of a German learner of English in a British context and a fair amount of interactional complexity.

For each of the situations thus constructed, role descriptions were worked out for each participant, which took their point of departure in interactions between a German learner and a native speaker of English and were subsequently modified so as to serve as instructions for pairs of native speakers of English and German, conversing in their native language.

The role plays were enacted by native German and English students. The German learners were all first-year students of English, which implies that most of them had had English for 9 years. About 30 learners of English and 60 native speakers of English and German volunteered as subjects.

As the 24 role plays were each enacted twice by the three groups of language users, a corpus of three parallel sets of dialogues resulted, each set comprising 48 conversations, which were audiotaped and transcribed. Subsequent to the role plays, subjects were asked to listen to their recording, comment on it and explain sequences which were ambiguous or otherwise difficult to understand. In particular for the analysis of the learners' performance, this procedure yielded useful additional information. Furthermore, some background information about the learners experience in learning English was gathered via questionnaire. Finally, videorecordings of various English lessons served as a supplementary data source about interactional structures of the FL classroom. (For a comprehensive description of the research design and methodology cf. Edmondson et al. 1979).

## RESULTS

The outcome of the project can roughly be divided into two categories, which will be referred to as 'analytical results' and 'pedagogical products'.

## ANALYTICAL RESULTS

The analytical results comprise investigations into four areas:

- descriptions of pragmatics and discourse in the English native speaker conversations, resulting in a model for the analysis of spoken discourse;
- contrastive discourse analyses of the English and German native speakers conversations;
- interlanguage analyses of the conversations between learners and native speakers;
- analyses of classroom discourse.

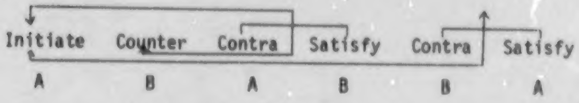
## ANALYSES OF THE ENGLISH CONVERSATIONS

On the basis of the native English conversations, Willis Edmondson developed a model for the analysis of spoken discourse, described in detail in Edmondson (1981e). The model consists of the following categories:

(1) An *interactional* structure whose elements are hierarchically organized in terms of acts, moves, terms, exchanges and phases of a conversation. The constituting elements at the exchange level are the *initiate*, *satisfy*, *contra* and *counter*. An initiate initiates an exchange, and a satisfy produces an outcome. By means of a contra, a preceding move is rejected, whereas a counter functions as an attempt by a speaker to get his interlocutor to modify or withdraw a preceding move. These interactional elements can be illustrated by

the following exchange:[1]

A: I think we should invite the whole family
B: Oh God the kids are so loutish
A: Oh come on ^ they're not that bad
B: Yeah perhaps you're right
but even so ^ I don't want to have to
cook for the whole family I'll be exhausted
A: Oh well ^ if you feel like that about it ^
let's forget the whole business



(From Edmondson and House 1981:41).

(2) Further components of the model are *illocutionary acts*, by means of which the slots in the interactional structure are realized, and which roughly correspond to a speaker's communicative intention, as in speech act theory.

(3) Moreover, the model contains *conversational strategies*, which refer to the ways in which speakers proceed in order to reach their conversational goals.

(4) These strategies are in part guided by a set of *conversational maxims*, the most important of which is the "Hearer-support" maxim. It consists of three related formulations: "Support your hearer's costs and benefits! Suppress your own! Give benefits when you receive them!" The Hearer-support maxim thereby takes account of participants' needs for face-saving (Edmondson 1981c:25).

---

[1] The following conventions are used in the transcripts:

X = German learner of English
Y = English native speaker
RU= reconstrued utterance
↘ = fall
↗ = rise
↗↘ = rise-fall
↘↗ = fall-rise
^ = short pause
^^ = longer pause
" = primary stress
[ ] = simultaneously spoken passage.

(5) The model further includes some categories of *gambits*, whose function is to "lubricate" an ongoing discourse without, however, contributing to an outcome. Figure 1 shows how the various components interrelate in the model:

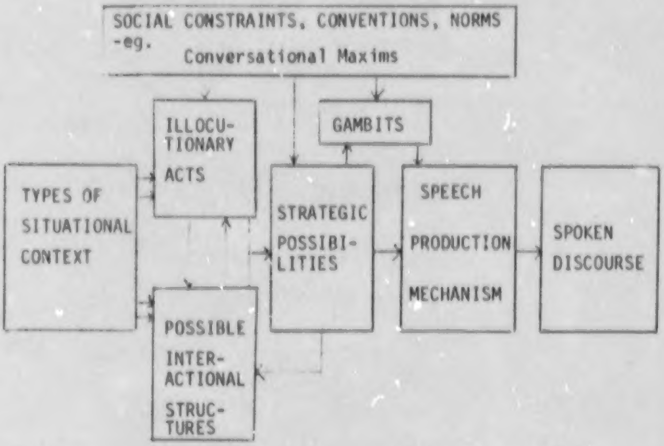

SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS, CONVENTIONS, NORMS -eg. Conversational Maxims
ILLOCUTIONARY ACTS
GAMBITS
TYPES OF SITUATIONAL CONTEXT
STRATEGIC POSSIBILITIES
SPEECH PRODUCTION MECHANISM
SPOKEN DISCOURSE
POSSIBLE INTERACTIONAL STRUCTURES

Figure 1. The components of Edmondson's model for the analysis of spoken discourse (from Edmondson and House 1981:68).

Various aspects of pragmatics and discourse in the English conversations were analyzed according to this model (eg. Edmondson 1979b, 1981a, 1981c, 1981d), and it was used as an analytical framework for some of the contrastive and interlanguage studies as well as for the descriptions of classroom discourse and the pedagogically oriented products.

CONTRASTIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSES

Comparison was made between the native English and German conversations in the following areas:

- the selection and realization of several illocutionary acts with particular respect to speech act modality, ie. the degree to which the politeness function is accounted for (cf. House 1979, House and Kasper 1981a);
- discourse opening and closing phases in terms of their internal structure, the interactional functions in these structures and their linguistic realization (House 1982c);

- the distribution and realization of gambits, or discourse lubricants (House 1980, 1982a);
- conversational strategies whose function is to support a central move and to anticipate a speaker's conversational goal (House 1982d).

As an overall result, the studies yielded strong similarities between the native English and German subjects' conversational behaviour, which is hardly surprising, given the close relatedness of the two speech communities. However, more delicate analyses brought out interesting differences in the selection, distribution and realization of various pragmatic and discourse functions.

For instance, German speakers were found to realize the speech acts *request* and *complaint* more directly than the English native speakers, and they also tend to use more upgrading, or aggravating, modality markers. Furthermore, some speech acts and discourse functions could be shown to vary cross-linguistically in terms of their optionality: for instance, after an act of *thanking*, an acknowledgement is obligatory in German; compare the adjacency pair "danke-bitte", whereas no such verbal response seems to be obligatory in English, where this act is often realized non-verbally. The reverse tendency was found in a *phatic inquiry* as an opening exchange. The typical pattern in English is:

A: hello John how are you
B: fine thanks how are you
A: okay

where the reciprocation of the inquiry by the second speaker is obligatory. In German, it seems to be optional, as can be inferred from the fact that our subjects often do not reciprocate.

It was further found that certain *opening* moves such as *territory invasion* ("excuse me"), *topic introduction* ("there's something I'd like to ask you) and *sum-ups* ("okay let's do it that way then") are normally realized by *routine formulae* by the native speakers of English, whereas the German subjects prefer more lengthy, content-oriented, non-routinized realizations.

The analysis of gambits indicates that German speakers use more *uptakers* (mhm, uhu) and *appealers* (question-tag) than English interlocutors, ie. as listeners, they signal more frequently to the present speaker that they are following his speech activity, and as speakers, they appeal more frequently to their interlocutor for consent, or simply uptaking, than their English counterparts. On the other hand, *cajolers* (you know, I mean), ie. gambits which primarily operate on an interpersonal level, are used by far more frequently by the native speakers of English.

Finally, in their choice of conversational strategies, the German subjects prefer strategies operating on a *content* level, such as the *expander* ("I've been invited to this party you know and I'm sure it's gonna be terrific and John's going too..."), whereas the English participants tend to select strategies which are more interpersonally oriented, such as the *disarmer* ("I hate bothering you of all people John cos I know you hate lending out your records but...").

As a general tendency, which could only be discovered by a close qualitative inspection of the data, one can observe that the German subjects operate more on a contact level, using whatever linguistic means they think fit in a given situation, whereas the English subjects prefer to focus at the interpersonal level, and exhibit more routinized conversational behaviour.

## INTERLANGUAGE ANALYSES

Various aspects of the performance of the German learners of English were analyzed on both the product and the process level (cf. the studies by Kasper and Stemmer in the list of project publications). The function of the *product level* descriptions was to identify and describe in terms of their interactional implications pragmatic errors, ie. communicative behaviour which would be assessed as inappropriate by native speakers, and non-erroneous but learner-specific features, ie. communicative behaviour which is different from native speaker preferences but considered pragmatically appropriate. The function of the *process level* analyses was to hypothetically explain the product level phenomena in terms of their underlying psycholinguistic processes as well as in terms of the learning and communication context.

The following aspects were selected for product level description:

- some initiating and responding speech acts
- gambits
- discourse opening and closing phases
- cohesion.

In these areas, the learners' performance was found to be characterized, among others, by the following features:

(1) The learners have a *smaller range of linguistic means* for the realization of a particular pragmatic function at their disposal than the native speakers. *Example*: The learners express appreciation in connection with the speech act of thanking exclusively by formulae like *that's very nice/kind of you*, but do not use alternatives such as *that's fantastic/great, you're a mate/real friend/life saver*, as are employed by the English native speakers.

(2) They prefer *structurally simple* ways of realizing a pragmatic function to a more complex one. *Example:* Complaints are most frequently realized by means of the structure *you did P*, whereas more complex alternatives such as *you could have done Q instead of P* are avoided.

(3) *Routine formulae*, by means of which native speakers realize standardized and ritualized communicative functions, in particular in opening and closing phases, are used inappropriately in two respects:

(a) Instead of a routine formula, learners use non-routinized linguistic means. *Example:*

(1) Y: oh hello Peter how are you
X: oh well I think I'm very fine now
RU: fine thanks...

(b) In choosing a routine formula, the learners do not observe contextual constraints.
*Example:*

(2) Y: okay I'll see you down there tonight yah
X: yes good-bye
RU: alright cheerio

(4) *Syntax* and *intonation* are *incompatibly combined*, thus producing a contradictory communicative effect.
*Example:*

(3) X: perhaps I could er phone you at about twelve o'clock today
RU: perhaps I could phone you around twelve

(5) The learners' responding acts often *lack* sufficient *coherence* to their interlocutor's preceding act. This lack of coherence, or *nonresponsive* discourse behaviour, is due to an inappropriate selection of speech act components: of the propositional act, of the illocutionary act,

or of both. The example illustrates a failure to choose an appropriate illocutionary act.

*Example:*

(4) Y: you're drinking a beer there
X: yes
Y: erm er˄well er I might er˄if you were kind enough to offer me one I probably wouldn't say no
X: of course of course˄yes (laughing)

(6) Learners' responding acts tend to be organized as *complete responses*, ie. they explicitly repeat parts of the interlocutor's preceding utterance instead of using proforms and ellipsis. This weakens the *cohesion* of the discourse.

*Example:*

(5) Y: so you'll phone up at twelve o'clock
X: I'll phone up at twelve o'clock and I'll see what I can do and then we'll see er what we can do

(7) Further, a learner-specific preference for establishing cohesion was found: the learners most frequently employ conjunctions as cohesive devices, whereas the native speakers make more extensive use of substitution, ellipsis, lexical cohesion, and reference.

(8) The learners' realizations of speech acts and discourse functions exhibit an *inappropriate modality*: the relational, or politeness function is marked in a pragmatically inadequate way. The learners seem to organize their communicative behaviour according to two learner-specific conversational maxims:

(a) For one thing, their speech act realizations are inconsistent with the Hearer-support maxim. Inherently face-threatening acts like *request*, *complaint*, *object* and *reject* tend to be performed directly and without mitigation, as illustrated by example (6), whereas inherently face-saving acts such as *suggest*, *offer*, *invite*, *accept*, *promise*, *apologize* and *thank* tend to be realized more indirectly and with mitigation (cf. example 7).

*Example:*

(6) (X wants to borrow some records from Y)
Y: I can look through erm I can look
through and find erm I was thinking
in terms of three or four I can think
of some old Stones and Beatles I assume
that's the sort of thing you want for
dancing and so on is that right
X: yes but we cannot hear erm ∧ the whole
evening Beatles and Stones ∧ we need some
other music as well

(7) Y: erm I've been writing a paper this evening
and I've got to [oh I see] present it in
a tutorial tomorrow morning so ∧ could
you be a bit quieter do you think
X: yes we could do so

(b) Secondly, the learners seem to organize their performance of speech acts and discourse functions according to what might be termed the principle of *minimal communicative requirements*: while they mostly realize the illocution and proposition of speech acts in an adequate way, they seem to assess relational and expressive functions as less important and therefore do frequently not mark their speech acts for them. This tendency manifests itself, among others, in the striking underrepresentation of the expressive and relational gambit categories *exclaim*, *cajoler* and *appealer*.

(9) The learners' readiness to take initiatives in the interactions and thereby to actively promote the discourse is largely determined by the part they play according to their role instructions. For instance, all the various functions in *discourse opening phases* are actively realized by the learners, most of them overtly erroneously. The learners were simply forced by the instructions they received to perform these initiating acts, even though they were lacking the necessary linguistic means to do so. In *discourse closing phases*, by contrast, the learners leave the performance of initiating moves to the more competent native

speaker and restrict themselves to realizing reactive functions, the error ratio of which is consequently much lower (60%:27%).

The conclusion has to be drawn from these product level descriptions that learners who have received structurally orientated FL instruction and little exposure to the FL in non-educational contexts are largely incapable of realizing pragmatic and discourse functions in an interactionally appropriate way.

On the *process level*, a taxonomy of psycholinguistic processes and contextual factors was established in order to account for the learner-specific features observed at the product level. It comprised various forms of L1 transfer, generalisation, functional reduction, inferencing, discourse induction, and classroom induction. The last two categories refer to the influence exerted by these two contexts on the learners' performance. The majority of pragmatic errors were attributed hypothetically to generalization, followed by L1 transfer as the second most frequent error cause. This result is perfectly in line with studies of morphological and syntactic aspects in interlanguage, which also indicate that *advanced* L2 learners prefer to solve learning and communication problems by means of their interlanguage rather than their L1 knowledge. Furthermore, it was hypothesized that about 1/3 of the learner-specific features were influenced by the FL teaching the learners had received, ie. by the teaching materials and by the specific communicative norms which govern classroom discourse (cf. Kasper 1981, 1982). These were more closely explored in the fourth group of analytical studies.

## ANALYSES OF CLASSROOM DISCOURSE

Some typical features observed in videotaped English lessons were the following (cf. Edmondson 1978b, 1979a, 1980, 1981b):

(1) In the basic interactional structure initiation-response-feedback, the last move is the decisive element in that it determines the outcome of the whole sequence. It is due to this function of the teacher's feedback, or evaluation, that learners often give their response a rising intonation,

which establishes a link to the following feedback move rather than to the preceding initiation; compare

L: what is the capital of Finland ∧ Mary
Pm: Helsinki
L: good

(2) The learners response frequently lacks any illocutionary value: he *says* (or quotes) something without *doing* anything. This is also reflected in the fact that

(3) the whole sequence is often a teaching strategy whereby the teacher gets the learner to say something in the FL, but the "communicative" act performed is a classroom specific one which does not reflect any actional aspects of language use in non-educational contexts. Compare a sequence like the following:

T: I'll give you a sentence in the declarative, and you put it into the interrogative right John swims a lot
$P_1$: does John swim a lot
T: good ∧ Mary can play the piano
$P_2$: can Mary play the piano
T. hm ∧ he is Spanish
$P_3$: is he Spanish
etc.
(From Edmondson et al. 1982:64f).

As a résumé of the classroom discourse analyses, the following pedagogical paradox, borrowed from Labov's observer's paradox, was formulated: "We want to teach people how to talk when they are not being taught".

## PEDAGOGICAL PRODUCTS

Based on the results from the various analyses, two directly pedagogically oriented books were produced, viz. a "pedagogic-interactional grammar" for teachers of English at secondary school level by Edmondson and House (1981), and a communication course for future teachers of English by Edmondson (1982).

In the *pedagogic-interactional grammar*, an attempt is made at describing the "grammar" underlying participants' conversational behaviour, to provide categories and a terminology which can be used for analytical and metacommunicative purposes in the classroom, and to suggest forms of classroom activities which allow for combining communicative with, eg. syntactic learning objectives.

The *communication course* for university students of English aims at improving the students' conversational skills, to raise their metacommunicative awareness of conversational rules as well as of their own conversational behaviour in both English and German, to reflect the problems involved in the teaching of communicative abilities in an institutional context, and to increase the students' self-confidence both as conversational participants in English and as future teachers of English.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Edmondson, Willis 1978a. Gambits in foreign language teaching, in H. Christ und H.E. Piepho (eds.), *Kongressdokumentation der 7. Arbeitstagung der Fremdsprachendidaktiker, Giessen 1976*, Limburg: Frankonius, 45-48.

Edmondson, W. 1978b. Context and stress - the 'old' and the 'new' in foreign language teaching, *Anglistik und Englischunterricht* 6, 63-73.

Edmondson, W. 1978c. A note on 'pragmatic connectives', *Interlanguage Studies Bulletin Utrecht* 3, 100-106.

Edmondson, W. 1979a. Funktionen von Fragen im Fremdsprachenunterricht, in H. Heuer et al. (eds.), *Dortmunder Diskussionen zur Fremdsprachendidaktik*, Dortmund: Lensing, 206-209.

Edmondson, W. 1979b. On negotiation in discourse: contras and counters in exchange structure, *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 11, 28-44.

Edmondson, W. 1980. Some problems concerning the evaluation of foreign language classroom discourse, *Applied Linguistics* 3, 271-279.

Edmondson, W. 1981a. On saying you're sorry, in F. Coulmas (ed.), *Conversational Routine*, The Hague: Mouton, 273-288.

Edmondson, W. 1981b. "Worlds within worlds - problems in the evaluation of teacher-learner interaction in the foreign language classroom, in J.G. Savard and L. Laforge (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress of Applied Linguistics*, Quebec: Laval University Press, 127-140.

Edmondson, W. 1981c. "Illocutionary verbs, illocutionary acts, and conversational behaviour, in H.-J. Eikmeyer und H. Rieser (eds.), *Words, worlds and contexts*, Berlin: de Gruyter, 485-499.

Edmondson, W. 1981d. On saying yes and meaning no, in M. Hartig (ed.), *Angewandte Soziolinguistik*, Tübingen: Narr, 79-88.

Edmondson, W. 1981e. *Spoken discourse: a model for analysis*. London: Longman.

Edmondson, W. 1982. A *communication course for German teachers of English*. Manuskripte zur Sprachlehrforschung 19. Bochum: Seminar für Sprachlehrforschung.

Edmondson, W. and Juliane House 1979. Konzeption einer Didaktischen Interaktionsgrammatik, in K.-R. Bausch (ed.), *Beiträge zur Didaktischen Grammatik*, Kronberg: Scriptor, 154-168.

Edmondson, W. and J. House 1981. *Let's talk and talk about it: a pedagogic interactional grammar of English*. München: Urban & Schwarzenberg.

Edmondson W., J. House, G. Kasper and J. McKeow 1979. *Sprachliche Interaktion in lernzielrelevanten Situationen*. L.A.U.T., Series B, paper no 51, Trier.

Edmondson, W., J. House, G. Kasper and B. Stemmer 1980. Kommunikative Kompetenz als realisierbares Lernziel. Kurzbeschreibung eines Projekts. *Linguistische Berichte* 67, 50-57.

Edmondson, W., J. House, G. Kasper and B. Stemmer 1982. *Kommunikation: Lernen und Lehren*. Berichte und Perspektiven aus einem Forschungsprojekt. Manuskripte zur Sprachlehrforschung 20. Bochum: Seminar für Sprachlehrforschung.

House, Juliane 1979. Interaktionsnormen in deutschen und englischen Alltagsdialogen, *Linguistische Berichte* 59, 76-90.

House, J. 1980 (1982a). Gambits in deutschen und englischen Alltagsdialogen. Versuch einer pragmatisch-kontrastiven Analyse, in W. Kühlwein und A. Raasch (eds.), *Sprache und Verstehen* Bd. II. Tübingen: Narr, 101-108. Also in *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 17.

House, J. 1982b. Zur Rolle der Muttersprache in einem Kommunikativen Fremdsprachenunterricht: Überlegungen zu Theorie und Praxis. To appear in *Englisch Amerikanische Studien*.

House, J. 1982c. Opening and closing phases in German and English dialogues, *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 16.

House, J. 1982d. Conversational strategies in English and German dialogues, in G. Nickel und D. Nehls (eds.), *Error Analysis, Contrastive Linguistics, and Second Language Learning*. IRAL Sonderband (to appear).

House, J. and G. Kasper 1981a. Politeness markers in English and German, in F. Coulmas (ed.), *Conversational Routine*, The Hague: Mouton, 157-185.

House, J. and G. Kasper 1981b. Zur Rolle der Kognition in Kommunikationskursen, *Die Neueren Sprachen* 80, 42-55.

Kasper, G. 1979a. Pragmatische Defizite im Englischen deutscher Lerner, *Linguistik und Didaktik* 10, 370-79.

Kasper, G. 1979b. Errors in speech act realization and use of gambits, *Canadian Modern Language Review* 35, 395-406.

Kasper, G. 1979c. Communication strategies: modality reduction, *Interlanguage Studies Bulletin Utrecht* 4, 266-283.

Kasper, G. 1981. *Pragmatische Aspekte in der Interimsprache. Eine Untersuchung des Englischen fortgeschrittener deutscher Lerner*. Tübingen: Narr.

Kasper, G. 1982. Teaching-induced aspects of interlanguage discourse, *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 4, 99-113.

Kasper, G. 1983. Pragmatic Comprehension in Learner-Native Speaker Discourse, in Michael M. Breen and Christopher N. Candlin (eds.), *Interpretive strategies in language learning*. Oxford University Press (in press).

Stemmer, Brigitte 1979. Textual Cohesion in German Learners' English. Bochum, Mimeo.

Stemmer, B. 1981. *Kohäsion im gesprochenen Diskurs deutscher Lerner des Englischen*. Manuskripte zur Sprachlehrforschung 18. Bochum: Seminar für Sprachlehrforschung.

# FROM TRADITIONAL CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS TOWARDS A COMMUNICATIVE APPROACH: THEORY AND APPLICATIONS WITHIN THE FINNISH-ENGLISH CROSS-LANGUAGE PROJECT

Jaakko Lehtonen and Kari Sajavaara
*University of Jyväskylä*

## INTRODUCTION

Contrastive linguistics has traditionally been described as a discipline which is concerned with the juxtaposition of the structures of mostly two, in some cases more than two, languages. In the last few years, the scope of contrastive analysis has been widened, in accordance with the expansion of the interests of linguistics, to cover areas other than structures. In this way a shift has been seen to take place from the comparison of structural descriptions of syntax and phonology over to semantics and pragmatics and further to the analysis and comparison of the interactive setting between individuals and cultures. Simultaneously, contrastive analysis has no longer been seen solely as a confrontation of two parallel descriptions; instead, various aspects of language in use have been integrated in this type of research. Moreover, communication and the communicating individual have been put into relief in addition to language and its structures. This has self-evidently brought about simultaneous shift from declarative knowledge over to procedural knowledge, which means, in the present context, dynamic linguistic and communicative processes being seen as a central area subjected to analysis instead of static structures of grammar. At the same time, a mere descriptive account of parallelisms has been replaced by causal analysis: in addition to asking what and how, the researcher is also interested in inquiring why and with what consequences certain utterances have been produced by a certain speaker in a certain speech situation.

An attempt to deal with cross-language problems encountered by speaker-hearers when they use second or foreign languages, as against their use of their native languages, requires a framework in which language phenomena, ie. linguistic knowledge internalized by an individual, cognitive language processes taking place in the individual, and language products by an individual, are described in a psycho-sociolinguistic setting. In this way, several approaches are possible within what is called contrastive or, preferably, cross-language analysis. Although theoretical contrastive linguistics may provide us with new insights into various problems of linguistics, purely theoretical studies should not be blamed for not having immediate applications. Applied contrastive linguistics should start from problems found in a second language speaker's performance. This is the way to avoid such methodological problems as have characterized the history of contrastive linguistics.

## PROLEGOMENA TO THE THEORY

People do not speak to produce utterances but they speak to serve a number of language-external functions. The linguist's attention has traditionally been centred on elements of the linguistic code; however, categories and phenomena abstracted for a linguistic analysis are not necessarily elements which serve as the basis for an analysis of human communication. Several reasons can easily be listed why theoretical linguistic models and descriptions are insufficient for the study of cross-language speech communication. Such descriptions normally present languages as verbal codes without a link with the dynamism of the speech events in which the languages are used for communication and other purposes (cf. Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1980). The processes which take place in the speaker and the hearer have usually been seen as hierarchical linguistic processes only. Yet speech production and speech reception are dynamic processes: the interactants arrive at an agreement as to the content of messages only partially on the basis of the rules and norms available in each individual speech community to its members through the interrelated process of socialization and language acquisition; in addition, various acquired negotiation procedures make it possible for the participants to apply *ad hoc* rules for each particular situation.

The idea that linguistic elements have fixed and generally valid 'meanings' is rather common. Yet it is an illusion which is largely based on normative grammars or various methods of decontextualization carried out by linguists. Representations of the 'established' features can be misleading on a variety of ways. Linguistic elements obtain their meaning in communicative situations in a way which is different for a naive language user from what it is for a linguist: the linguist abstracts a function for the element through an idealization process; this necessitates decontextualization of some sort and, in this way, replaces fuzziness typical of language by rules and structures even where there are none, while naive language users develop a 'feel' for what constitutes the language without being able to state 'rules'. The linguist's system and the naive language user's system need not overlap. The processes of message production and message reception cannot be approached without reference to interaction, because the processes are dependent on exchanges between interlocutors. Any model that neglects the influence of interaction on the processing of speech is certainly defective.

The representations of language which have been available so far are "partial and tentative attempts to map out part of the cognitive configurations underlying verbal behavior" (Slobin 1979:31). True performance grammars, which are based on natural language use and which rely on the processes of speech production and reception, are yet to come. In future work it is necessary at any rate to make a distinction between a linguistically oriented approach and a communicatively oriented one (see Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1980). The linguistic approach gives an explanation of how a linguistic representation results in speech output, while the communicative approach is concerned with the description of how the speaker implements his communicative intentions, how the hearer deciphers the speaker's intentions, and how these two interact in dynamic situations of language use.

The distinction between linguistics and communication implies a choice between a static view of language and a dynamic one (cf. Levelt and Flores d'Arcais (eds.) 1977:xiv). According to a static, structural model, languages are described as sets of rules abstracted and idealized from language data, while for dynamic models grammatical rules function as constraints for possible utterances, not as models for mental processes. In real communication, the meaning, or the intended logical content of the message, may also be conveyed through channels other than language, eg. gestures, body movements, or paralanguage (cf. Knapp 1978:20-26, Lehtonen and Hurme 1980, Lehtonen 1982). There may, or may not, be a concominant language utterance, either in accordance with, or in contradiction to, the meaning of the non-verbal message. As is well-known, the listener normally relies, in the latter case, on the non-verbal information for the intended meaning of the message.

The final goal of the dynamic of communicative model is not a comprehensive description of language as a paradigm of rules for structures for which actual messages have the value of raw material only. It aims at the description of the entire communicative vehicle of human communication, both from the perspective of the speaker and the listener and from that of society.

## THEORY AND APPLICATIONS

The experimental and other studies carried out within the Finnish-English Cross-Language Project can be classified in terms of three categories in accordance with the following three levels of analysis: (1) *intrapersonal*, (2) *interpersonal*, and (3) *organizational*. The intrapersonal level relates to the interaction of various linguistic and other data within the cognitive system of the speaker-hearer when he produces and receives messages and participates in communicative transaction; the interpersonal level is concerned with the use of language(s) in human interaction; and the organizational level centres round the role of the foreign language (as against the mother tongue) in society and in various social subsystems.

Language phenomena at the three levels characterized above are described in terms of structures, processes and products: for instance, at the intrapersonal level, language means both knowledge internalized by an individual, ie. competence, cognitive processes taking place in an individual, and language products by the individual.

*The intrapersonal level.* - The research at the intrapersonal level could be characterized as contrastive psycholinguistics. Its primary concern is the internalized knowledge schemata of the mother tongue and foreign language as reflected in native and foreign language speech performance. The research in this area should give answers to various problems related to the interaction of NL and FL structures in the reception and production of speech (what is normally termed 'transfer' in FL processing is included here). In addition to the mere study of the interrelationship between the structures of the two languages, contrastive psycholinguistics is also concerned with differences and similarities in native and foreign language processing, which presupposes the acceptance of the idea that learning a second language also involves, if not acquisition of new processes, at least an ability to employ previously acquired processes in ways that have not been accessible before.

It is self-evident that phenomena which are here classified as intrapersonal do not exist in isolation: they relate directly to phenomena at the other two levels. A good example of such an interrelationship, which also relates to the Jyväskylä Project's major concern in the field of foreign language teaching, is the impact of the type of analytical language knowledge that is introduced in the classroom by the foreign language teacher and teaching materials. FL teaching brings in factors through a process which is generated by interpersonal activities and have their foundation in considerations which derive from norms established by organizational subsystems.

The data for research at the intrapersonal level comes from recordings of spontaneous speech or from various types of tests and experiments where the speakers are subjected to different kinds of linguistic or other stimuli. Any kind of spontaneous speech can obviously be used for the gathering of data, such as various types of interactional situations, eg. seminars, telephone conversations, or straightforward narratives. Reading tests introduce a certain type of experimental technique by exposing the subject's language processing mechanism to linguistic or other cues, but material elicited through reading tests can also be used similarly to spontaneous speech for the analysis of variations in the rate of speech, pauses, speech errors, etc.

One of the great problems in contrastive psycholinguistics has been, and still is, the establishment of experimental techniques which can be used to interfere, in a way which is both theoretically and pragmatically feasible, in the bilingual speaker's interlanguage speech channel: most of the information that is accessible through the experimental techniques which are available at the moment is only indirect, and thus one of the urgent needs in the field is the development of strategies which could be used to get closer to the phenomena proper. The techniques which have been employed so far by the Jyväskylä Project are various types of reaction-time tests, where the stimuli introduced have been either visual (by means of a tachistoscope) or auditory, the shadowing technique, the gating paradigm (Grosjean 1980), and experiments with the perception of various types of distorted speech stimuli. All these techniques can be used to test phenomena that relate to grammaticality and acceptability (see eg. Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1983), various aspects of grammatical processing (Havia 1982), and problems of lexical access (Lehtonen 1983).

Theoretically, the research carried out by the Finnish-English Cross-Language Project within the framework of contrastive psycholinguistics relates to the general theories of cognition and human information processing (see Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1980, Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1983), which have been used as a background for the tentative model of message processing developed by the project.

*The interpersonal level.* - At the interpersonal level, an individual's competence in terms of structures, processes and products is subjected to external influences. Instead of competence we have to deal with what could be termed 'communicative competence'. Even here, the researchers' main concern may be an individual's interactive speech behaviour. In addition to various aspects subjected to analysis in the ethnomethodology-of-speech type of research (turntaking, opening and closing of conversation, etc.), areas which come up in this context include fluency of speech delivery, which is, contrary to intuitive assumptions, primarily interaction-bound (see Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1978) instead of being a function of speaker-internal factors, and problems related to communication apprehension, which means anxiety caused by real or anticipated communication situations. A special type of communication apprehension, which is particularly relevant for research reported here, is foreign language apprehension, which is a particularly difficult problem for Finnish speakers of foreign languages for reasons which are not yet known but are at present subjected to examination under the auspices of the Finnish-English Cross-Language Project.

Various cognitive and emotional factors which operate at the intrapersonal and interpersonal levels can be considered *in toto* from the viewpoint of communication satisfaction. These factors determine to what extent the interactant feels that his goals and communicative intentions have been reached during a communicative interaction. For the foreign-language speaker satisfaction experiences are negative for the most part, and they may, in turn, provoke foreign-language anxiety.

Anxiety in the use of foreign languages or foreign-language communication apprehension, which may also have its origin in unpleasant experiences in the foreign-language classroom, results at the behavioural level in unwillingness to participate in communicative events in the foreign language and in active avoidance of interaction. In this way, emotional and affective factors may disrupt the progression of communicative interaction much more severely than any kind of deficiency in language proficiency proper.

An individual's behaviour within a group is governed by various dominance relations, which are, at least partially, interlinked with the group participants' statuses and roles, either real or assumed.

In a real-world situation, interaction consists of moves carried out in a given environmental setting. The persons who take part in the interactional situation normally share a given amount of common interest and knowledge. In most situations there also exists a history of earlier talks, contacts, and other experiences between the interactants. The task of abstracting the rules relevant for casual conversation as well as other stereotyped internal generalizations which cause and explain certain regularities and expectancies in real-life conversation is one of the challenges for contrastive discourse analysis. It is here that various 'non-verbal' social, cultural, and personality cues together with the interactant's cognitive style and his experience become more decisive.

The Finnish-English Cross-Language Project has made an attempt to pay attention to a speaker-hearer's communicative competence as a whole, including all the linguistic, psychological, and sociological parameters which make it possible for him to interact with other people in communicative situations. This type of analysis requires information about how a Finn uses Finnish and English in communication, how a native speaker of English understands a Finn's English and how a Finn understands the speech of a native speaker. Contrastive analysis of this kind is possible only on the basis of natural speech, and audio- and videotaped materials have been collected for this purpose about various situations of language use.

At the first stage of this work, small-group interaction in seminar-like settings was chosen as the primary target (see, eg., Saario 1980, Valokorpi 1980). Later on, some research has also been carried out on casual conversation (Ventola 1979, 1980), certain types of service encounters (Ventola 1983), and giving-directions situation on the street (Pihko 1983). In addition, dynamic material such as telephone conversations and, in some cases, also interviews has also been used. More recently, the research on the interpersonal implications of cross-language analysis has been tentatively extended to the classroom situation (eg. Martikainen and Renko 1981), which also relates to the organizational level.

An important aspect of interpersonal cross-language research is concerned with the impressions which different types of FL speakers arouse in native speakers. These impressions may be highly relevant for the success or failure of communication (Makkonen 1982).

*The organizational level.* - The organizational level refers to the role of language and communication within and between larger functional and cultural units. Such units may have sets of goals, habits, and values of their own which function as constraints on the use of language.

The cross-language research at the organizational level relates to the roles of the mother tongue and the FL in society and in various social sub-systems. The phenomena to be studied include, for instance, how and where people use their foreign language(s) as against the mother tongue, what the purposes are which the foreign language is used for, and in what kind of situations, etc. The researcher should also be interested in finding out whether the learners feel that it made, or did not make, sense to learn the language.

Research at this level involves a number of causal factors which relate to motivational aspects of foreign language learning, to communicative attitudes in the mother tongue and the foreign language, and to communicative planning. A number of intervening factors have to be observed in such studies: the language users have certain expectations as concerns the transference of messages in communicative situations of language use; the factors which cause anxiety or communication apprehension at the interpersonal level can also be seen to have certain organizational implications.

It is very important to see that many of the phenomena escape human consciousness: society is assumed to function in accordance with certain laws and statutes but to a great extent these remain a 'surface structure' only, and the true functions are much deeper. What the interactants are able to perceive at the conscious level relates mostly to what Berger et. al. (1974:12) term 'recipe knowledge'. Brislin (1981:11ff.), for instance, lists a number of criteria which help in establishing an individual's position with the network of various kinds of interrelated factors. His group factors are based on mutually developed activities and affective ties, which create various kinds of support networks and result in the integration of new people into groups. Every group creates a certain set of norms, which imply the ways in which "things are 'properly' done". In addition to the group factors, there are sets of factors which derive from situations (external to the individual and modifiable) and from tasks. Brislin points out that under all circumstances it is necessary to consider individuals as "active processors of information" who make all the time, consciously or subconsciously, decisions as to what aspects of the communicative event should be attended and what ignored. In terms of cross-language analysis it is import to study cross-culturally "how and why people employ certain perceived motives, traits, and explanations in analyzing other people's behaviour as well as their own".

The organizational level constitutes the newest trend in the cross-language research carried out by the Finnish-English Cross-Language Project, although certain studies which clearly have an organizational (in the above sense) bias have an established position in the project. Most of the work in the area remains at the planning stage. A premilinary study (Makkonen 1982) has been carried out on the attitudes of the Finns towards certain varietes of English and on the ways in which the Finnish subjects, as against native subjects, perceived the speakers. More research in this area is needed. This kind of research ties in closely with the studies carried out in Jyväskylä on the characteristic traits of the Finn as a communicator (Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1982): an attempt is being made, for instance, to find out whether the well-known Finnish 'mynth' about the 'silent Finn' is justifiable. Some of the early work by the project which was concerned with the Finns' fluency in English (see Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1978, Lehtonen 1981) has obvious organizational implications because one of the important findings was that the only possible way to deal with fluency is to see it within an extensive framework of interaction in communicative situations.

Certain aspects of the research carried out within the auspices of the Anglicism Project, which is an important sub-project of the Finnish-English Cross-Language Project, have been directly concerned with the organizational level of cross-language analysis. The Anglicism Project (see Sajavaara et al. 1978, Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1980, Sajavaara 1983a) has been concerned with the influence of English and Anglo-American culture on modern Finnish, which has made it necessary to study, among other things, the attitudes of Finns towards English as against certain other languages and towards certain varieties of English.

Language for special purposes constitutes a particularly interesting and valuable area of study with organizational cross-language implications. Some work has been carried out in this field in collaboration with the Language Centre for Finnish Universities, which is situated in Jyväskylä. The first concrete product of this work is a course in conference English for Finns (Korpimies et al. 1983).

## CONCLUSIONS

In cross-language and cross-cultural communication we are concerned with the 'interface' between two cultures. Languages make up closed systems, which can be interfered with only with difficulty (the lexicon is, to a certain extent, a case apart but this results, at least partly, from the interrelationship between various lexical items and cultural phenomena); cultural phenomena are more open systems making up the context in which the languages are used. They involve a certain number of norms relevant in each individual cultural context, and such norms may, or may not, overlap across cultures. Through socialization an individual has acquired certain patterns of social behaviour, which are never absolute even within one and the same culture. Such patterns also imply the existence of certain expectations as concerns normal and deviant interactional behaviour (see, eg., Brislin 1981).

It should be evident today that languages cannot be studied as something abstract and divorced from their users; in many respects language follows rules which are similar to those of other types of behaviour. Therefore it is necessary to correlate the knowledge there is of the ways in which people use languages with the knowledge of the human being's cognitive behaviour and perceptive capacities. In communicative situations, the speaker's performance is conditioned by that of the hearer. The communicative event must be observed as an entity in which the speaker and hearer introduce linguistic and other cues and which is paced by the alternation of the roles of speaker and hearer.

The social and cognitive organization of speaking and listening and, accordingly, the cues embedded in speech which give information to the interactant about the other's attitudes differ in different cultures and languages, and it is obvious that intercultural differences in feedback cues can lead to erroneous interpretation of the interlocutor's intentions as a result of intercultural interference.

Besides the analysis and description of data at the interpersonal and organizational levels both linguistic and psycholinguistic approaches remain an important area of contrastive analysis (see Sajavaara 1977:25). In many cases, however, results of earlier linguistic analysis will have to be reinterpreted in terms of the wider framework delineated above. Linguistic research is necessary for coping with various subdisciplines of linguistic analysis (phonetics, syntax, semantics, lexicon, and text), but messages must be studied in communicative situations with respect to criteria drawn from these subdisciplines. Psycholinguistic research is needed on the decisions which a speaker-hearer is expected to make to participate in given social situations. The influence of insufficient competence on communication makes an important part of such studies (including error analysis, which has been touched upon in a number of Jyväskylä studies; see eg., Sajavaara 1983b).

Most of the work which has been carried out or is at the planning stage has obvious links with research in second language acquisition and foreign language learning (see Sajavaara 1981a, 1981b, Sajavaara 1982, Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1983). Today we are however in no position to see all the implications of cross-language analysis for research in second language acquisition.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berger, P.L., B. Berger and H. Kellner 1974. *The homeless mind*. A Pelican book. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Brislin, R.W. 1981. *Cross-cultural encounters: face-to-face interaction*. Pergamon General Psychology Series. Oxford: Pergamon.

Grosjean, F. 1980. Spoken word recognition processes and the gating paradigm. *Perception and Psychophysics* 28, 267-283.

Havia, V. 1982. *Language processing by Finnish and native speakers of English with special reference to the use of grammatical knowledge*. M.A. thesis. University of Jyväskylä.

Knapp, M. 1978. *Non-verbal communication in human interaction*. 2nd edition. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Korpimies, L., J. Lehtonen, P. Junila and M. Dufva 1983. *A Finnish-English conference parleur*. Jyväskylä: The Language Centre for Finnish Universities.

Lehtonen, J. 1981. Problems of measuring fluency and normal rate of speech, in J.-G. Savard and L. Laforge (eds.), *Proceedings of the 5th Congress of AILA, Montreal, August 1978*, Montreal: University of Montreal, 322-332.

Lehtonen, J. 1982. Non-verbal aspects of impromptu speech, in N.E. Enkvist (ed.), *Impromptu speech: a symposium*, Publications of the Research Institute of the Abo Akademi Foundation 78, Abo Akademi, 33-45.

Lehtonen, J. 1983. Orthography as a source of the Finn's difficulties in foreign-language speech processing, in C.-C. Elert and A. Seppänen (eds.), *Finnish-English language contact: papers from a workshop*, Umeå Papers in English 4, Umeå: University of Umeå, 5-22.

Lehtonen, J. and P. Hurme 1980. The speech chain and the science of speech, in P. Hurme (ed.), *Voice, speech and language: reports and reviews*, Papers in speech research 2, Publications from the Institute of Finnish Language and Communication 19, Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 1-28.

Lehtonen, J. and K. Sajavaara 1982. The silent Finn, in M. Saville-Troike and D. Tannen (eds.), *The functions of silence*, Norwood, N.J.: ABLEX, forthcoming.

Lehtonen, J. and K. Sajavaara 1983. Acceptability and ambiguity in native and second language message processing, in H. Ringbom (ed.), *Psycholinguistics and foreign language learning*, Publications of the Research Institute of the Abo Akademi Foundation 86, Abo Akademi, 101-125.

Levelt, W.J.M. and G.B. Flores d'Arcais (eds.) 1978. *Studies in the perception of language.* New York: Academic Press.

Makkonen, I. 1982. *Judgement of fluency by native and non-native speakers of English.* M.A. thesis. University of Jyväskylä.

Martikainen, E. and R. Renko 1981. *Communication in the classroom during English lessons: an observation study.* M.A. thesis. University of Jyväskylä.

Pihko, M.-K. 1983. Giving and getting directions: cross-language interaction between native and Finnish speakers of English, *Cross-language analysis and second language acquisition 2*, Jyväskylä Cross-Language Studies 10, Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Saario, A. 1980. Interactional activities in discourse between native and Finnish speakers of English, in Sajavaara and Lehtonen (eds.) 1980, 57-82.

Sajavaara, K. 1977. Contrastive linguistics past and present and a communicative approach, in K. Sajavaara and J. Lehtonen (eds.), *Contrastive papers*, Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies 4, Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä 9-30.

Sajavaara, K. 1981a. Message processing and language acquisition in the foreign language teaching context, in C.N. Candlin and M.P. Breen (eds.), *Interpretive strategies in language learning*, London: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Sajavaara, K. 1981b. Psycholinguistic models, second language acquisition and contrastive analysis, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive linguistics and the language teacher*, Oxford: Pergamon, 87-120.

Sajavaara, K. 1982. The Monitor Model and contrastive analysis, *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 14, 145-155.

Sajavaara, K. 1983a. Anglo-American influence in Finnish, E. Kuparinen and K. Virtanen (eds.), *The impact of American culture*, Publications of the Institute of History, General History. University of Turku, Turku: University of Turku, 36-49.

Sajavaara, K. 1983b. The article errors of Finnish learners of English, in C.-C. Elert and A. Seppänen (eds.), *Finnish-English language contact: papers from a workshop*, Umeå Papers in English 4, Umeå: University of Umeå, 72-87.

Sajavaara, K and J. Lehtonen 1978. Spoken language and the concept of fluency, in L. Lautamatti and P. Lindqvist (eds.), *Focus on spoken language*, Language Centre News, Special issue 2, Jyväskylä: The Language Centre for Finnish Universities, 23-57.

Sajavaara, K. and J. Lehtonen 1980. Language teaching and acquisition of communication, in K. Sajavaara, A. Räsänen and T. Hirvonen (eds.), *AFinLA Yearbook 1980*, Publications of the Finnish Association of Applied Linguistics 28, Jyväskylä: AFinLA, 25-35.

Sajavaara, K. and J. Lehtonen 1983. Aspects of transfer in foreign language learners' reactions to acceptability, in H.W. Dechert and M. Raupach, *Transfer in production*, Norwood, N.J.: ABLEX, forthcoming.

Sajavaara, K. and J. Lehtonen (eds.) 1980. *Papers in discourse and contrastive discourse analysis*. Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies 5. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä.

Sajavaara, K., J. Lehtonen, H. Leskinen, P. Pulkkinen, A. Räsänen and T. Hirvonen 1978. Influence of English on modern Finnish: preliminary report on a research programme, in K. Sajavaara, J. Lehtonen and R. Markkanen (eds.), *Further contrastive papers*, Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies 6, Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 31-51.

Slobin, D.I. 1979. *Psycholinguistics*. 2nd edition. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman & Co.

Valokorpi, P. 1980. Kinesics in discourse between native and Finnish speaker of English, in Sajavaara and Lehtonen (eds.) 1980, 83-107.

Ventola, E. 1978 *A study of conversational strategies in English and Finnish*. M.A. thesis. University of Jyväskylä.

Ventola, E. 1980. Conversation management from a contrastive point of view, in Sajavaara and Lehtonen (eds.) 1980, 109-144.

Ventola, E. 1983. Contrasting schematic structures in service encounters, *Applied Linguistics* 4, 242-258.

# ESTONIAN-ENGLISH CONTRASTIVE STUDIES

M. Liiv
*Tartu State University,*
*Estonian SSR*

Estonian-English contrastive studies began to develop in a systematic way in the 1960s, the English Department of Tartu State University being considered the coordinating centre. They involve studies in (i) phonology and phonetics, (ii) grammatical structure, (iii) vocabulary and (iv) error analysis; in the majority of cases they belong to the applied type, representing "classical contrastive analyses based upon sentence grammar" in the Krzeszowskian sense. However, they have been useful in improving the teaching of English as well as in writing textbooks for the Estonian learner. It goes without saying that various large-scale contrastive projects have inspired us to greater efforts (Polish-English, Finnish-English, German-English, Serbo-Croatian-English, Romanian-English, Hungarian-English, Swedish-English, Danish-English, etc.). Below an attempt will be made to dwell upon some contributions to the field.

## PHONOLOGY AND PHONETICS

Paul Vaarask's *The Tonal Structure of Speech* I, II, (Tallinn 1964) is a survey of Estonian intonation, accentuation and rhythm in comparison with that of English as well as Russian, German and French. The theoretical value of this investigation consists in shedding light on the phonatory and phonological phenomena in connected speech. The practical value of the work consists in the application of the syntagmatic principles of speech analysis. The work served as a basis for the improvement and rationalization of teaching methods and as a reference book for teachers and students in the sixties.

In 1965 *An Introduction to English Phonetics for the Estonian Learner* by Oleg Mutt appeared (second edition 1971, Estonian version 1978). It is a comprehensive account of the English sounds, various assimilatory phenomena, word and sentence stress as well as intonation, written with the Estonian learner in mind. Chapters 1-2, and the first four sections of Chapter 3, are theoretical discussions, the rest of the book is of a practical-normative character. The comparison of

English and Estonian sounds is based on the use of the artificial palate (palatograms) and X-ray photographs of the speech organs (ie. using traditional methods of experimental phonetics). The works on Finnish phonetics by Kalevi Wiik (eg. Finnish and English Vowels, A Comparison with Special Reference to the Learning Problems Met by Native Speakers of Finnish Learning English, Turku, 1965, and his other works) were of great help in the early studies, more recently those by Jaakko Lehtonen.

In 1972 an experimental contrastive study on English and Estonian monophtongs was undertaken by Leili Kostabi who investigated them on four levels: articulatory, acoustic, perceptive and phonological. The analysis was carried out mainly with pedagogical aims in view. Spectrographic analysis was carried out at the Laboratory of Experimental Phonetics of the Institute of Language and Literature in Tallinn. In addition, listening tests were administered to students of different levels of competence in English.

The acoustic data drawn from the analysis of 216 spectograms was then contrasted with the articulatory data on the basis of several handbooks and monographs on English and Estonian Phonetics. Correlations between articulatory and acoustic features were established and classified with the aim of teaching English monophtongs to adult Estonian learners.

Listening tests revealed basic difficulties which adult Estonian learners face when hearing English. The conclusions drawn from the data obtained served as recommendations for the learners.

Phonological mistakes and difficulties were pointed out while analysing phonological minimal pairs.

The conclusions drawn from the whole study showed considerable differences in the pronunciation of English and Estonian monophtongs, forming a complex of (i) quality, especially with the historically short vowels and (ii) duration, which is very much dependent on the immediate phonetic environment of a vowel.

## GRAMMAR

Pedagogically oriented contrastive studies on grammar consist of linguistic and pedagogical analyses. Linguistic analysis tries to establish similarities and differences in two languages. Pedagogical analysis selects from the data the points that may prove effective in organizing the teaching process and compiling sets of exercises. The following will illustrate such an approach.

Semantic equivalences and formal-semantic correspondences of English and Estonian tense forms were found by opposing the forms in minimal neutral contexts and carrying out various statistical counts (H. Liiv). Differential features of English tense forms, the frequency of their occurrence in works of fiction and the means of rendering them in Estonian were established. As a result it was possible to set up a provisionary scale of difficulties and predict the areas where interference from Estonian might be expected. Then the scale was correlated with the scale of difficulties obtained through an error analysis as well as with the data for the relative frequency of tense forms. The new complex rank-scale of difficulties was used for planning the teaching of tense forms, writing a programmed study aid and compiling various exercises to it, among them exercises for stimulating positive transfer and preventing negative transfer.

At present a pedagogical contrastive grammar of English and Estonian for intermediate students is in the process of writing (H. Liiv, A. Pikver), aimed at providing the students with the basic facts about English structures and illustrating similarities and differences between the linguistic systems of English and Estonian. It also tries to develop communicative as well as social competence in students with the help of various exercises. As to the linguistic model, it is a compromise of traditional, structural and generative-transformational grammars showing language in action.

## VOCABULARY

Since 1969 a group of scholars headed by Juhan Tuldava has been dealing with "Quantitative linguistics and automatic text analysis". This trend is connected with computational linguistics, and research is being carried out in cooperation with the University's Computing Centre. Several frequency dictionaries of Estonian and some other languages have been compiled, among them a reverse frequency dictionary of Estonian word forms, which enables us to investigate phonetics and morphology, and if the necessity arises, it can be done on the contrastive plane. Typological studies of languages are being carried out with the help of frequency dictionaries and a more detailed text analysis. The following might serve as an example: the 2000 most frequent word forms cover 58.9% of the Estonian literary text, whereas in the Swedish text of the same type the figure is 69.3%, in the English text 79.0% and in the French text 85.6%. As the degree of analyticity is different in different languages (analytical languages abound in structural words), the content of "qualitatively more frequent words" also differs, finding its reflection in essential differences in the structure of texts. Frequency dictionaries of foreign languages also serve as the basis for compiling minimum vocabularies. Every year this research group publishes a collection of articles called "Works on Linguo-Statistics". Scholars from many countries have contributed to it (eg. Pauli Saukkonen (Oulu), Ferenc Papp (Debrecen), Pavel Vašák (Prague), Lothar Hoffman (Leipzig), and others).

There have been a few studies on semantic similarities and dissimilarities of sets of words. A set or group of words, eg. synonyms, is viewed as a field, either on the paradigmatic or on the syntagmatic axis or on both. They must have at least one common semantic component (feature, seme) which is also present in all other members. Each member of the set has its own distinctive features. Their relation to each other is contrastive. The structure of the field, ie. the meanings and the relations of the individual members of the group are studied with various methods, eg. componential analysis and valency study (collocability). The former consists in manipulations with the distinctive features of the denotational meaning of each word as defined in English-English dictionaries and dictionaries of synonyms. Statistical counts are used to find the most frequently occurring members. Items in synonymic sets are further studied in their typical contexts to find ranges of this collocability, eg. for the set of adjectives referring to beauty: *beautiful, lovely, pretty, handsome*, etc The corresponding field in Estonian (*ilus, kaunis, nägus, kena*, etc.) is examined in the same way. As a result certain words can be taught to the learners of English as members of sets or fields, and in their proper collocations. Syntagmatic fields (collocations) are regarded as systems, as they consist of different word classes. In teaching they are used as substitution patterns. Thematically arranged lists of words (eg. for teaching conversation), in which grammatical meaning is not taken into account, are not regarded as field but ideographic groups.

## ERROR ANALYSIS

The study of typical mistakes occurring in the students' speech has been an inseparable part of our contrastive studies. But there have also been single studies. Thus L. Hone has studied grammatical and lexical mistakes occurring in the students' written papers (L. Hone, *Some Typical Mistakes Occurring in Our Students' Written papers*, I, II, III. Tartu 1966, 1971, 1973). In Parts I and II some of the most glaring grammatical blunders are discussed. They are grouped under different heads, eg. "the use of tenses", "the infinitive or the gerund", "the article", etc. and their sources have been pointed out. Part III tackles lexical difficulties connected with the use of some verbs. The point of departure is Estonian. The author gets clusters of verbs, which from the point of view of one language can be regarded as synonyms, whereas from the point of view of the other they may have very little or nothing in common.

Last but not least, the students of the English Department have written 62 term papers and 56 graduation theses on relevant matters during the past 12 years.

In this brief review I could mention only some of our studies. More information can be found in Tartu University's Transactions entitled "Linguistics" and "Methodica". From 1969 a total of 14 volumes of "Linguistica" and 10 volumes of "Methodica" have appeared.

# REPORT ON THE ENGLISH-HUNGARIAN CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS PROJECT

Éva H. Stephanides
*Lóránd Eötvös University,
Budapest*

This report aims at giving a short survey of the three phases of the English-Hungarian Contrastive Linguistics Project. A few words will be said about the first phase, and about the participants, research topics, meetings and planned publications of the second phase (finished in 1980), and of the third phase, which is in progress at present.

A detailed report was given about the first phase of the research project (1971-1974) at the 2nd International Conference on English Contrastive Projects, held in Bucarest in 1975 (see the Bibliography). This first phase of the project was initiated by the late John Lotz, and was jointly sponsored by the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C. The director of the project was first Professor Lajos Tamás, then Director of the Linguistics Institute and, after his retirement, Professor László Dezsö. The published results of the project were seven volumes of *Working Papers* and a final volume, containing 15 articles on the field of syntax and prosody as well as semantics and methodology, which appeared after a delay of several years, because of problems of publication, at the beginning of 1981 under the title: *Studies in English and Hungarian Contrastive Linguistics*. (For authors and titles see the Bibliography below.) The list of publications is supplemented by a volume, edited by László Dezsö, published in 1982 by the Academy Publishing House (Akadémiai Kiadó), Budapest, under the title *Contrastive Studies: Hungarian - English* containing seven articles. This publication is one issue in a series containing results of contrastive linguistics completed in Hungary, comparing Hungarian with other languages such as German, Russian and French.

On the basis of this first phase, further research work has been organized, with the financial support of the Hungarian Ministry of Education, in the English Department of the Lóránd Eötvös University as headquarters under my direction and with eight other researchers who are practising teachers of English in various universities as well as specialists in applied and English linguistics. As a result of this second research phase (1979-1980), five papers on syntax will be published in *Studies in Modern Philology*, a new journal of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, probably in 1983. Another set of three papers on semantics will appear in *Studies in English and American*, an annual of the English Department of the Lóránd Eötvös University, Budapest, in 1982. In the framework of the contrastive project a *Hungarian-English Slang Dictionary* has been compiled by László András and Zoltán Kövecses containing about 5,000 items with their British and American counterparts and illustrated in sentences. The dictionary will be published by the Hungarian Textbook Publishing House (Tankönyvkiadó) in 1984. The plan is to prepare its reverse counterpart, ie. an *English-Hungarian Slang Dictionary*, in the three-year period of our present project.

In the present phase (1982-1985) 12 researchers are working on contrastive topics. One of them is dealing with phonology, six with syntax, three with semantics and lexicography, and two with sociolinguistics. (For the list of topics and authors see the attached Bibliography.)

Only one international contrastive conference has been held in Hungary; this was in Pécs in 1971, where papers were read on contrasting Hungarian with several other languages. But the participants of the English - Hungarian Contrastive Project held regular monthly meetings where the researchers discussed the first drafts of the papers in preparation. The second drafts were checked by project consultants, and the final versions by native speakers of English from the language point of view. We had only one Round-Table Meeting with Austrian scholars from Klagenfurt in 1981, where we exchanged views on our research.

Our American consultant throughout the whole research project has been Professor William J. Nemser (at present Chairman of the Department of American Studies in the Klagenfurt University), who has helped us in both contrastive research and in the editing of the papers. Our Hungarian consultants and advisers have been Professor Ferenc Kiefer (Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences) and Professor Sándor Károly (Chairman of the Department of General Linguistics in Szeged University) giving us help from the general linguistics and Hungarian linguistics points of view, respectively.

The main aim of our research is to satisfy theoretical research requirements and so enrich general linguistics and typology, and also to apply the results in language teaching.

The first phase of research helped us to raise the level of teacher training in Hungary both in the universities (Budapest, Debrecen, Szeged) and in the teacher training colleges (Eger and Pécs; the latter was recently raised to university level); and it also helped young scholars to deepen their knowledge of general and English linguistics. Starting from this improved situation our aims in the second and third phases have been manifold:

(a) to deepen English linguistics studies in Hungary;
(b) to raise the level of general and applied linguistics in Hungary;
(c) to improve the standard of English teaching in the course of our educational reform (which started 2 years ago) concerning instruction at the university and teacher training college level;
(d) to prepare new curricula and teaching materials for primary and secondary schools where a new reform is also being carried out.

To achieve the aims mentioned above contrastive linguistics research is an important factor. We still have to clarify grammatical problems not yet solved in the two languages under consideration. The results of our research have to be integrated with teaching materials and curricula for the different levels. This has been achieved partly by the fact that researchers of the contrastive project are lectures on descriptive grammar, teachers of English at the departments of different universities, and partly that they are authors of and advisors on textbooks newly prepared. Options are also offered on contrastive linguistics at the university. Several dissertations and theses have been completed on contrastive basis.

I do not plan to talk about the articles already published in English and which are available. However, I will say a few words about the research results which are in press. As can be seen in the Bioliography, and was mentioned earlier in the report, five papers on syntax and three on semantics were completed. Because of lack of time and space I will say a few words about the papers on syntax following the alphabetic order of the authors' names.

Ágnes F. Kepecs (lecturer at the University of Economics, Budapest) wrote " A Contrastive Analysis of the English Passive Structures and Their Hungarian Equivalents". She approaches the problem by analysing the means of expressing the same information. She discusses the semantic meaning of the English passive clauses and shows the place of the passive voice in the topic/comment structure of the English sentence. Giving the subdivision of the passive voice in English, she helps to differentiate that great mass of clauses labelled as passive. The importance of the analysis for Hungarians lies in the fact that in present-day Hungarian we have no passive structures, but we use active, reflexive and causative verbs or a potential suffix added to basic verb forms to express the same meaning.

Nándor Papp (lecturer at the University of Economics, Budapest) gave "A Hungarian Look at the Meaning of the English Perfect". Using Kiefer's (1980) and Reichenbach's (1947) notions of temporal specification he distinguishes external and internal time specifications, speaks about Speech Time, Reference Time and Event Time. Using these distinctions he shows how these times are expressed by the Perfect in English, and how the same relations can be expressed in Hungarian with the help of verb tenses, prefixes, adverbial phrases, word-order and supersegmental elements, since in present-day Hungarian the Perfect does not exist.

Éva H. Stephanides (lecturer at Lóránd Eötvös University, Budapest) wrote "A Contrastive Study of English *Some* and *Any* and Their Hungarian Equivalents". In the theoretical part she presents the different functions, forms and meanings of *some* and *any* as determiners and/or pronouns. She also gives a short summary of the characteristic features of the corresponding Hungarian determiners, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs. In the second part she gives the contrastive analysis proper of the English and Hungarian structures, also showing the expected cases of overuse and underuse of *some* and *any* by Hungarians.

László Varga (lecturer at Lóránd Eötvös University, Budapest) in "A Contrastive Analysis of Some Types of Negative Sentence in Hungarian and English" deals with five types of negative sentences and examines whether they can be realised in both languages with or without resorting to paraphrase. The emphasis is on the problems of topic, focus and comment. For example, while in Hungarian any type of argument may become an uncontrasted topic, in English sentences the non-subject arguments normally remain in the comment. In Hungarian the subject complement can also be focussed; however the precise rendering of this type in English is impossible.

Tamás Váradi (lecturer at the College for Foreign Trade, Budapest) analysed "Reported Statements in English and Hungarian", which he considers a most rewarding area for contrastive analysis, covering some phenomena that are highly general, if not universal, in languages, and also some that are quite specific to the individual languages under analysis. He analyses a wide variety of linguistic phenomena ranging from syntax to pragmatics. He pays special attention to deixis, illustrating it with personal pronouns, demonstratives, with the use of the definite article as well as with place and time adverbials. The main difference in the two languages can be seen in the verbal temporal references where English literally reflects the time relations between actual events in its tense system, while the Hungarian tense structure deviates from the actual time relations using "simultaneous" tenses, ie. tenses at the same level.

Professor Ferenc Kiefer wrote an introduction to our volume under the title: "A General Linguist's View on Contrastive Linguistics", where he emphasizes that "descriptive linguistics has to go beyond the mere presentation of data..." and "it must be based on certain organizing principles and generalizations". That is why he is dissatisfied with the predictions characteristic of contrastive papers in general. According to Kiefer, "Contrastive linguistics could be made more sophisticated if the individual characteristics of the languages under consideration are compared on the basis of underlying universal and typological structures".

The basic deficiency of our research in progress is that no unified framework is applied. Most scholars approach grammar in a more or less traditional way, though they make use of the results of newer approaches and models as well. In some of the papers a generative grammatical framework is adopted partly applying the extended standard theory or a version of case grammar (mainly that of Anderson). The prospective final aim of our research should conclude in the construction of a complete English-Hungarian grammar; however, that is hindered by applying the above-mentioned different methods. So what we can achieve at present is to fill the gaps in the contrastive description of English and Hungarian and to try to apply the existing results in language teaching. The main reason for using the more or less traditional descriptive method is the lack of a worked-out Hungarian generative grammar. Hopefully, this problem will be solved by the fact that a group of young linguists (independently from us) have been working on a Hungarian grammar in the generative framework in the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, in a five-year project.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH-HUNGARIAN CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTIC TOPICS

### PART I

Working Papers 1-7 (1972-1975) Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Center for Applied Linguistics.

1. Lotz, John. *Two Papers on English-Hungarian Contrastive Phonology* 1972.
    - Contrastive Study of the Morphophonemics of Obstruent Clusters in English and Hungarian
    - Comparison of the Glides (Semivowels) in English and Hungarian
2. Lotz, John. *Script, Grammar and the Hungarian Writing System* 1972.
3. Nemser, William. *Contrastive Research on Hungarian and English in the United States* 1972.
4. *Four Papers of the Pécs Conference on Contrastive Linguistics* 1973 (Pécs, 14-16 October 1971).
    - Dezsö, L. and W. Nemser. Language typology and contrastive linguistics.
    - Diósy-Stephanides, É. Contrastive Aspects of British and American English with Implications for Hungarian Learners of English.
    - Nádasy, A. Interrogative Sentences in English: A language-teaching problem for Hungarians.
    - Stephanides, É. A Contrastive Analysis of English and Hungarian Textbooks of English
5. Stephanides, Éva. *A Contrastive Study of the English and Hungarian Article* 1974.
6. Varga, László. *A Contrastive Analysis of English and Hungarian Sentence Prosody* 1975.
7. Keresztes, Kálmán. *Hungarian Prepositions vs. English Prepositions: a Contrastive Study* 1975.

*Studies in English and Hungarian Contrastive Linguistics* 1980.
(L. Dezsö and W. Nemser, eds.) Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest.

Syntax and prosody

- Diósy-Stephanides, Éva. A preliminary study for a contrastive analysis of the English gerund and its Hungarian equivalents.
- Kiss, Katalin E. English participles and their Hungarian equivalents.
- Stephanides, Éva H. A Contrastive study of the English and the Hungarian infinitive.
- Hell, György. Object and subject *that* clauses in English and corresponding *hogy* clauses in Hungarian.
- Kenesei, István. Sentence embedding in English and Hungarian.

- Korponay, Béla. Middle and causative construction in English and Hungarian.
- Varga, László. A contrastive analysis of English and Hungarian word stress.
- Dezsö, László. Word order, theme and rheme in Hungarian and problems of word-order acquisition.
- Vörös, József. Syntactic structures of Hungarian verbal particles and their English equivalents.
- Néray, Judit. A contrastive study of the word-order of attributes in noun phrases in English and Hungarian.
- Hell, György. Compound sentences in English and Hungarian.

Semantics and methodology

- Csapó, József. The problems of lexical interference.
- András, László. Spatial adjectives: an English-Hungarian contrastive study.
- Horlai, György. A contrastive study of the *had+n* and *had+been+ing* forms and their Hungarian equivalents.
- Váradi, Tamás. A guide to Hungarian-English errors.

*Contrastive Studies Hungarian-English* 1982. (László Dezsö, ed.) Akadémiai Könyvkiadó, Budapest.

- Dezsö, László. English-Hungarian contrastive linguistic research in Hungary.
- Csapó, József. English denominal adjectives and their Hungarian equivalents.
- Kiss, Katalin É. Hungarian and English: a topic-focus prominent and a subject prominent language.
- Korponay, Béla. A double-faced case category.
- Nadasdy, Ádám. Relative pronouns in English and Hungarian.
- Stephanides, Éva. The generic use of the article in English and Hungarian.
- Varga, László. Differences in the stressing of re-used nouns in English and Hungarian.

PART II

On syntax in press in Studies in Modern Philology Akadémiai Kiadó (Academy Publishing House), Budapest.

Kepecs, F. Ágnes. A contrastive analysis of the English passive structures and their Hungarian equivalents.

Papp, Nándor. A Hungarian look at the meaning of the English perfect.

Stephanides, H. Éva. A contrastive study of English *some* and *any* and their Hungarian equivalents.

Varga, László. A contrastive analysis of some types of negative sentence in Hungarian and English.

Varadi, Tamás. Reported statements in English and Hungarian.

On semantics in press in Studies in English and American 5. Lóránd Eötvös University, Budapest.

Heltai, Pál. The importance of hierarchical lexical relations for the learner.

Kövecses, Zoltán. Verbs of walking in English and Hungarian.

Rot, Sándor. On the linguistic interference of Hungarian-English language contacts and the use of the grammatical fields in contrastive studies.

András, László and Zoltán Kövecses. Hungarian-English slang dictionary (to appear at the Hungarian Textbook Publishing House 1984), Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.

Kiefer, F. A general linguist's view on contrastive linguistics (Introduction).

PART III

Published outside the frame of the project.

András, László and Éva Stephanides-Diósy 1969. *An outline of present-day English structure* (Hungarian Textbook Publishing House), Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest.

András, László 1977. Lexical co-occurrence: A plea and a proposal for semantic experiments, *Studies in English and American* 3:157-194, Lóránd Eötvös University, Budapest.

Bognár, József 1975. An interaction of the Hungarian and English tense systems according to the action-relation system, *Angol nyelv és stilusgyakorlat* I (English conversation and stylistic exercises), FPK, Pécs.

Bognár, József 1977. An interpretation of objective constructions in English and Hungarian, *Angol nyelv és stilusgyakorlat* II (English conversation and stylistic exercises), FPK, Pécs.

Budai, László 1973. A magyar anyanyelvi strukturák szerepe az angolnyelvoktatásban (The role of the Hungarian structures in the teaching of English), *Az egri Ho Si Minh Tanárképző Főiskola Tudományos Közleményei* XI: 147-172, (Scientific Preceedings, (J. Kövecs, ed.) of the Ho Si Minh Teacher

Training College) Eger, Hungaria.

Budai, László 1974. Az angol és a magyar nyelv konstrukció-funkció egységeinek kontrasztivitásához (= A note on the contrastivity of structural-functional units in English and Hungarian), *Az egri Ho Si Minh Tanárképzö Föiskola Tudományos Közleményei* XII:247-260, (Scientific Proceedings (ed. J. Köves) of Ho Si Minh Teacher Training College) Eger, Hungaria.

Budai, László 1975. A kontrasztiv pedagógiai grammatika az angolnyelvoktatásban (= Contrastive pedagogical grammar in English language teaching), *Az egri Ho Si Minh Tanárkepzö Föiskola Tudományos Közleményei* XIII:143-155, (In: Scientific Proceedings (ed. J. Köves) of Ho Si Minh Teacher Training College) Eger, Hungaria.

Budai, László 1976. Egy differenciált hibaelemzési eljárás konkluziói (= Conclusions of a graded method of error analysis), *Hevesi Művelődés* (Education of Heves Country) 2:50-54, Eger.

Budai, László 1979. *Grammatikai kontrasztivitás és hibaelemzés az alsó- és középfoku angolnyelv-oktatásban* (= Grammatical contrastivity and error analysis at the elementary and intermediate level in English language teaching) pp. 213. Tankönyvkiadó (Hungarian Textbook Publishing House), Budapest.

Dezsö, László 1975. Some remarks on the application of typology in contrastive linguistics, in *Modern Linguistics and Language Teaching*. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó (Academy Publishing House), 187-194.

Dezsö, László and Eva H. Stephanides 1976. Report on the English-Hungarian Contrastive Linguistics Project, in *2nd International Conference of English Contrastive Project* (ed. D. Chitoran), University Press, Bucharest, 53-59.

Hell, György 1965. Strukturák és nyelvoktatás (Structures and language teaching), *Az idegen nyelvek tanitása* (Teaching Foreign Languages) VIII/3:79-83.

Hell, György 1975. A kontrasztiv grammatika és alkalmazásának néhány kérdése (Contrastive grammar and some problems of its application), in *Magyar Nyelv* (The Hungarian Language) XII/1-2:37-42.

Hell, György 1978. Magyar nyelvtan és idegennyelv-oktatás (Hungarian grammar and foreign language teaching), *Folia Practico-Linguistica* VIII:17-30.

Heltai, Pál 1978. Magyar-angol közoktatási szótár (= Hungarian-English Educational Dictionary). FPK, Budapest.

Heltai, Pál 1981. Some aspects of the development of Hungarian and English agricultural terminology, *On the Development of English* (ed. S. Rot), Lóránd Eötvös University, Budapest, 35-58.

Heltai, Pál. Szövegolvasás és forditás (Reading and translation of special texts) to appear in *Folia Practico-Linguistica*.

Kepecs, F. Ágnes 1981. Az angol szenvedő szerket magyar megfelelőinek kontrasztiv vizsgálata (= A contrastive analysis of the English passive and its Hungarian equivalents), in *Tanulmányok az anglisztika tárgyköréből* (Studies in Anglistics) (ed. B. Korponay), Debrecen, 137-146.

Korponay, Béla 1973. A magyar *-ődik*, *-ődik* képzős igék angol megfelelői (= The English equivalents of Hungarian verbs with suffix *-ődik*, *-ődik*), *Magyar Nyelv* (The Hungarian Language) 3:341-347.

Korponay, Béla 1977. Adjectival constructions in English and Hungarian, *Hungarian Studies in English* XI:173-196.

Korponay, Béla 1979. The ablative and the instrumental, *Hungarian Studies in English* XII:171-185.

Korponay, Béla 1981. Egy igei szerkezetről (About a verbal structure), in *Tanulmányok az anglisztika tárgyköréből* (Studies in Anglistics) (ed. B. Korponay), 63-69.

Kovács, János 1979. *Kiejtés és nyelvoktatás, kiejtés és nyelvtudomány.* (= Pronunciation and linguistics), *Nyelvpedagógiai Írások* (Studies in Language Teaching) II:382-389.

Nemser, William and Eva H. Stephanides 1974. Problems in the contrastive semantic analysis of English and Hungarian *Jelentéstan és stilisztika* (= Semantics and stylistics), *Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* (Linguistic Studies) 83:414-421.

Nemser, William 1975. Problems and prospects in contrastive linguistics, *Modern Linguistics and Language Teaching*, Akadémiai Kiadó (Academy Publishing House), Budapest, 99-114.

Papp, Nándor 1977. Companion to new concept English (Book two), Egyetemi jegyzet (J-lo 14o3a). Tankönyvkiadó (Hungarian Textbook Publishing House), Budapest.

Papp, Nándor. Time and Tense in English, to appear in *Nyelvpedagógiai Írások* (Studies in Language Teaching), Language Institute, Karl Marx University of Economics, Budapest.

Pordány, László 1978. A nyelvi viselkedés kulturális kontextusáról. (About the cultural background of language behaviour), *Időszaki Kiadványok* MKKE (Periodical of the Károly Marx University of Economics), Budapest.

Pordány, László 1980. Kulturstudiumok az idegennyelv-szakokon (= Teaching culture for students of foreign languages), *Felsőoktatási Szemle* XXIX (Review of Higher Education).

Pordány, László 1980. American Studies in teaching translation and interpreting, *Acta Szegediensis*.

Rot, Sándor 1976. Problemü tyeoriji jazükovüh kontaktov, in *Ucsenüje Zapiski Moszkovszkogo Insztyituta inosztrannüh jazükov* *im. M. Toreza*, Moszkva, 168-181.

Rot, Sándor 1978. Semantic interference and problems of isosemantism, *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Linguistics*, Vienna August 28-Sept. 2.1977, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, Innsbruck, 226-229.

Rot, Sándor 1979-80. Az anyanyelv szerepe az idegennyelv oktatásában (= The role of the mother tongue in foreign language teaching), in Az *iskolai anyanyelvi nevelés feladatai és módszertana* (= The tasks and methodology of mother tongue teaching at the school level), ELTE Tanárképző Bizottság Különkiadványa (Special Edition of the Teacher Training Committee of the Lóránd Eötvös University) 4:80-95.

Rot, Sándor 1980. Typology and affinity in Finno-Ugric, Germanic and Slavic languages, in *Congressus Quintus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum*, Turku, August 20-27, 1980, Pars II:196-204.

Rot, Sándor 1980. A grammatikai mezök alkalmazásáról az angol-magyar kontrasztiv vizsgálatokban (= About the application of grammatical fields in English-Hungarian contrastive research), A *magyar nyelv grammatikája Nyelvtudományi Értekezések* (The grammar of the Hungarian Language), 104:655-667.

Siptár, Péter 1979. Szóvégi mássalhangzó-kapcsolatok az angolban és a magyarban (Final consonant-clusters in English and Hungarian), Konfrontáció a társadalomtudományokban (= Confrontation in social sciences), *Nyelvpedagógiai Írások* II:104-121.

Siptár, Péter 1980. Megjegyzések az angol és magyar mássalhangzócsoportokról (= Remarks on initial consonant-clusters in English and Hungarian), *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* (Linguistic Communications) 82:325-337.

Siptár, Péter. A magyar és angol írásrendszer elemzése (= A contrastive analysis of the Hungarian and English writing systems), to appear in *Modern Nyelvoktatás* (Modern Language Teaching) Budapest.

Siptár, Péter. A contrastive analysis of the writing systems of English and Hungarian, to appear in *Acta Linguistica Hung.*, Budapest.

Siptár, Péter. A note on initial clusters in English and Hungarian, to appear in *Acta Linguistica*, Budapest.

Stephanides, Éva 1972. Az angol nyelvi tankönyvek nyelvtani felépitésének kontrasztiv elemzése (= A contrastive analysis of the sentences of grammatical structures in textbooks on English), in *Összetevő nyelvvizsgálat nyelvoktatás* (Contrastive analysis and language teaching), Tankönyvkiadó (Hungarian Textbook Publishing House), Budapest, 258-263.

Stephanides, Éva 1974. Az angol-magyar kontrasztiv nyelvészeti kutatások

(= The English-Hungarian Contrastive Linguistic Project), in *Modern Nyelvoktatás* (Modern Language Teaching).

Stephanides, Éva 1975. A two-way contrastive study of the English and Hungarian articles, in *Modern Linguistics and Language Teaching*, Akadémiai Kiadó (Academy Publishing House), Budapest, 237-245.

Stephanides, Éva 1976. A határozottság kifejezése a lengyelben, a magyarban és az angolban (Definiteness in Polish, in Hungarian and in English), in *A lengyel nyelvoktatás Magyarországon* (= The teaching of Polish in Hungary) (ed. J. Banczerowski), Lengyel Kultura, Budapest, 54-66.

Stephanides, Éva 1976. A contrastive analysis of English and Hungarian textbooks on English. ERIC, Washington (microfilm).

Stephanides, Éva 1977. The article in English and Hungarian: a selected survey of the literature, in *English and American Studies* 3, (eds. T. Frank and E. Perényi) Lóránd Eötvös University, Budapest, 215-250.

Stephanides, Éva 1977. *Bibliography on Contrastive Linguistics* (selected studies and articles). Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, pp. 60 (mimeographed).

Stephanides, Éva 1978. The use of the article in English and Hungarian: a contrastive analysis, *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 8:74-89.

Stephanides, Éva 1981. Az angol *some* és *any*, valamint magyar megfelelőinek kontrasztiv vizsgálata (= A contrastive analysis of *some* and *any* in English and their Hungarian equivalents), in *Tanulmányok az anglistika tárgyköréből* (Studies in anglistics) (ed. B. Korponay) I:147-154.

Stephanides, Éva. The use of *some* and *any* and their Hungarian equivalents, to appear in *Societas Linguistica Europea '80, Summa Dissertationum*, (ed. S. Rot), Akadémiai Kiadó (Academy Publishing House), Budapest.

Varga, László 1975. An introduction to a contrastive analysis of English and Hungarian sentence intonation, *Studies in English and American* 2:399-446.

Varga, László 1975. Egy kontrasztiv analizis végeredménye: magyar anyanyelvüek várható hibái az angol szintagmák és mondatok hangsulyozásában (= The final results of a contrastive analysis: mistakes to be expected in the stressing of English phrases and sentences by Hungarians), *Modern Nyelvoktatás* (Modern Language Teaching) XIII:3-28.

Varga, László 1976. A magyar emelkedő-eső hanglejtés transzfer hatása magyarok angol beszédében (Interference of the Hungarian rising-falling intonation in the English speech of Hungarians), *I[illegible]n Nyelvek Tanítása* (Foreign Language Teaching) XIX:17-22.

Varga, László 1977. Contrastive analysis and the approximative system, *English Teaching Forum* XV:38-39.

Varga, László 1978. Some differences in English and Hungarian context sentece-stress placement, *Annales Univ. Sci. Budapestiensis Section Linguistica* Tomus IX:185-191.

Varga, László 1981. Angol intonációs tananyagminimum (A minimum curriculum on teaching English intonation), *Modern Nyelvoktatás* (Modern Language Teaching) XVIII:149-174.

Varga, László. Observations on negation in Hungarian and English, to appear in *Acta Linguistica*.

Váradi, Tamás, Mária Heller and Katalin E. Kiss 1977. Experimental simulation of a document storage and retrieval system based on linguistic clues, *SMIL, Journal of Linguistic Calculus* 1977/3:5-41.

Váradi, Tamás 1980. Strategies of target language learner communication: Message adjustment, *IRAL* 18:59-72.

## PART IV

The 3rd phase of the English-Hungarian Contrastive Linguistic Project (1982-1984).

Participants and topics:

### Phonology

Kovács, János. Different phonetic transcriptions in the teaching of English to Hungarians.

### Morphology and syntax

Hell, György. Comparative Constructions in English and Hungarian.

Kepecs, F. Agnes. The Modal Uses of *Shall Will* and their Hungarian Equivalents.

Nyirő, László. Causative Verbs Formed by Pre- or Suffixation and Their Hungarian Equivalents.

Papp, Nándor. The Expression of Future Time in English and Hungarian.

Stephanides, H. Eva. The Syntax and Semantics of Determination.

Váradi, Tamás. Model Auxiliaries in English and their Hungarian Equivalents.

### Semantics and Lexiography

Heltai, Pál. Motivation in English and Hungarian Agricultural Terms.

Rot, Sándor. Problems of English Hungarian language contacts: The question of isosemanticism.

### Sociolinguistics

Kniezsa, Veronika. A Contrastive Study on Sociolinguistics in English and Hungarian.

András, László and Zoltán Kövecses. An English-Hungarian Slang Dictionary.

Pordány, László. A Contrastive analysis of English and Hungarian cultural phenomena.

# A PLEA FOR CONTRASTIVE PSYCHOLINGUISTICS

Hans W. Dechert
*Gesamthochschule Kassel*

In a recent publication *Cognitive Psychology and its Implications* John Anderson has again taken up the topic of the declarative-procedural distinction, already briefly discussed in his perennial book *Language, Memory and Thought* in 1976. This time, however, the declarative-procedural distinction has a central role in his elaborated overview of cognitive science and its implications for the study of language. While the first seven chapters of the book deal with "knowledge as statistic information", the last eight chapters focus on the processes that use information. The disctinction between the *knowledge about something* or *declarative knowledge* on one side, and the *knowledge of how to do something* or *procedural knowledge* not only determines the structure of the book, but is considered by its author as the fundamental distinction in modern cognitive science in general. Remarkably enough, those chapters of the book dealing with language - covering almost one fourth of it - all fall into the second part, into the domain of procedural knowledge.

Declarative knowledge, according to John Anderson, is knowledge that can be easily identified and verbalized, whereas procedural knowledge can be, but need not be communicated. Let me try to give you an example of this difference: If you ask me what the square roots of the numbers 4 or 9 or 16 are, I have no trouble in saying 2 or 3 or 4. We all have learned in school many years ago what the mathematical concepts "root number" and "square root" mean. We seem to have the declarative knowledge to deal with a problem like that. And, of course, we know the procedure for solving this problem. However, if you ask me what the root of the number 3.75 or 26 or 104 is, I must admit that I am completely lost, since I do not recall the particular procedural calculation I used to know many years ago, although the mathematical problem is not different from the one mentioned before in connection with the square numbers 4 or 9 or 16. My lack of knowledge, however, does not cause any practical problems any more nowadays, since my pocket computer "knows" the necessary procedure and does the job within a second, no matter whether I feed it with a perfect square or an ordinary number. I have the declarative knowledge of the problem and can verbalize it - as I am doing at this moment - my pocket computer has the procedural knowledge, but can neither verbalize the problem nor describe the procedure for solving it.

Or to give you a linguistic example: Those of you who have been struggling with word order in German know that the sentence final position of the verb in subordinate clauses such as in the following written example from H. Halbe's Introduction into the reader *Psycholinguistik* (1976):

> Die Gesamtenwicklung der modernen Psycholinguistik könnte man so zusammenfassen: Während die Anfänge stark an informations theoretischen Konzeptionen *orientiert waren* und die Sprache selbst mitsamt ihren internen Gesetzen wenig Beachtung *fand* und dann in einer zweiten Phase die Sprachpsychologen sich plötzlich völlig und allzusehr von der bisher vernachlässigten Linguistik *bestimmen liessen*, indem sie ohne Skrupe das Chomskysche, weitgehend intuitiv errichtete Modell der Sprachkompetenz des 'idealen Sprechers/Hörers' auch als Performanzmodell *zugrunde legten*, zeichnet sich etwa gegen Ende der 60er Jahre eine Neubesinnung ab, die als eine allmähliche Lösung aus dem Banne der Chomskyschen Sprachteorie und der seiner Nachfolger *bezeichnet werden kann.*

you know that this rule of verb final position is one of the easiest to understand - declaratively -, but one of the hardest to generate - procedurally - even among the most competent non-native speakers of German. Why is this so? There is obviously a tremendous difference between knowledge about a language and knowledge how to process a language. Of course, when we learn our primary language we "just" learn the procedures by listening and by using them and we know how to use them without knowing what we are doing. And, of course, the main problem in learning a second language results from the implicit procedural knowledge of how we process our first language and the necessity of learning the rules of the second language declaratively, if this learning of the second language takes place in a tutored context. In an untutored context, the procedural knowledge of the first language naturally is applied and used over and over again while we are hypothetically grasping the procedures of the second language. There is, of course lots of procedural transfer that helps, and lots of procedural interference that disturbs, as everyone knows who has ever looked at natural speech data, whatever Dulay and Burt may have said about this.

Quite a similar view has been expressed recently by Charles Fillmore in his article *On Fluency* (1979:86):

> I would like to begin my remarks by saying something about how questions of language variation sometimes get formulated within theoretical linguistics (...). Out of the complex of language behavior, the linguist chooses as his main object the study of *products* of that behavior - that is, the utterances, the texts produced by the speakers. In fact, the creation of the discipline of scientific linguistics began with the invention and elaboration of notations and descriptive frameworks for language *products*. (...) It has become necessary (...) therefore to propose and idealization by which a speaker's knowledge of the form and of the rules of his language is distinguished from his *use* of that knowledge in the *process of speaking*. (...) The study of *language use*, then requires consideration of the speaker's memorial access to the rules and forms he is taken as knowing, the *processing strategies* he follows (...) and so on.

For some years now the assessment of and search for those procedural strategies, mentioned by Fillmore and Anderson, through the analysis of temporal variables and speech errors has been the main object of the Kassel Psycho- and Pragmalinguistic Research Project.

The comparison of first and second language processing strategies on various production levels and between various languages (English, French, German) has led us, as it has led Kari Sajavaara and Jaakko Lehtonen, to propose a special field of contrastive studies, which we have called Contrastive Psycholinguistics.

Instead of giving you a detailed review of various aspects and results of our previous reseach, some of which you know from the literature anyhow, let me give you as an example a short report of a study we have just finished and which has not been published yet.

One part of an article on "Understanding and Summarizing Brief

Stories" by David E. Rumelhart (1977) is devoted to a summary experiment made in the University of California at San Diego in the early seventies.

This experiment was based on a schema- or modal model of story comprehension. A schema, according to Rumelhart in this context, is an abstract representation of a generic concept, in our case: a concept of the basic structure and constituents of a story. Such a story schema has various levels differing from each other in the degree of detail. Comprehending a story is identical with the process of selecting a general conceptual schema of stories to account for the concrete realization of the particular story to be understood. Story schemata, at least in closely related narrative traditions, have similar basic constituents: episodes, that follow a Try, a Cause and an Outcome structure, for instance.

To produce summaries of stories essentially means to follow the underlying story schemata with fewer words and yet fully consider the "gist" of the story. One of Rumelhart's basic assumptions is the tree structure of story schemata, ie., the notion of different levels of story-structure. The theoretically possible various levels of summarization of a story, their degree of abstraction and completeness in terms of propositional statements of the original, are the basis for the evaluation of their quality.

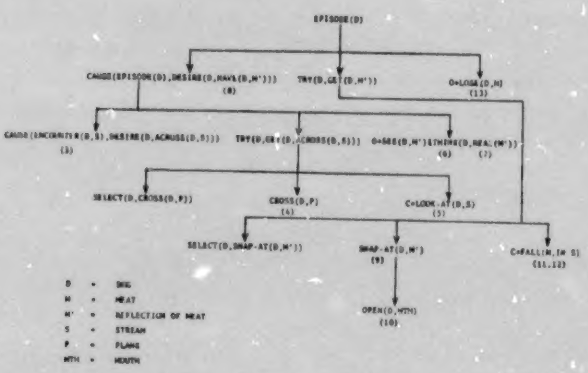
The shortest of the four stories in Rumelhart's experiment is

The Dog and His Shadow

In its propositional structure it reads like this:

(01) It happened that a dog had got a piece of meat
(02) and was carrying it home in his mouth to eat.
(03) Now, on his way home he had to cross a plank
lying across a running brook.
(04) As he crossed,
(05) he looked down
(06) and saw his own shadow reflected in the water beneath.
(07) Thinking it was another dog with another piece of meat,
(08) he made up his mind to have that also.
(09) So he made a snap at the shadow,
(10) but as he opened his mouth
(11) the piece of meat fell out,
(12) dropped into the water,
(13) and was never seen more.

Diagram 1. Structure of the story (Rumelhart 1977:283)


EPISODE(D)
CAUSE(EPISODE(D),DESIRE(D,HAVE(D,M')))
(8)
TRY(D,GET(D,M'))
O=LOSE(D,M)
(13)
CAUSE(ENCOUNTER(D,S),DESIRE(D,ACROSS(D,S)))
(3)
TRY(D,GET(D,ACROSS(D,S)))
O=SEE(D,M')&THINK(D,REAL(M'))
(6)
(7)
SELECT(D,CROSS(D,P))
CROSS(D,P)
(4)
C=LOOK-AT(D,S)
(5)
SELECT(D,SNAP-AT(D,M'))
SNAP-AT(D,M')
(9)
C=FALL(M,IN S)
(11,12)
OPEN(D,MTH)
(10)
D = DOG
M = MEAT
M' = REFLECTION OF MEAT
S = STREAM
P = PLANK
MTH = MOUTH

An abstract 0-Level summary, according to Rumelhart's model, could look like this:

> A dog crossed a brook. As a result, he saw the reflection of some meat he had in his mouth and thought it was real. He snapped at the reflected meat. The meat he had in his mouth fell into the brook.

Five students in Rumelhart's experiment gave 0-level summaries of that type, the other five students gave level 2 (more detailed summaries).

This short example may suffice to illustrate the kind of material and task in this experiment. The overall analysis of all the data in Rumelhart's experiment demonstrates: In general the predictions, based on the theoretical schema model of summarizing were confirmed. The various minor deviations were mainly idiosyncratic. The ten native speakers of English in the experiment, in other words, proved to be able to summarize the four brief stories in a predictable way according to the aforementioned model of story comprehension with certain individual differences in levelling and phrasing.

Our hypothesis as to the non-native summaries of English stories by advanced German speakers of English is based on the assumption that on the schema level of story processing within closely related narrative traditions our students would show the same results as the native speakers.

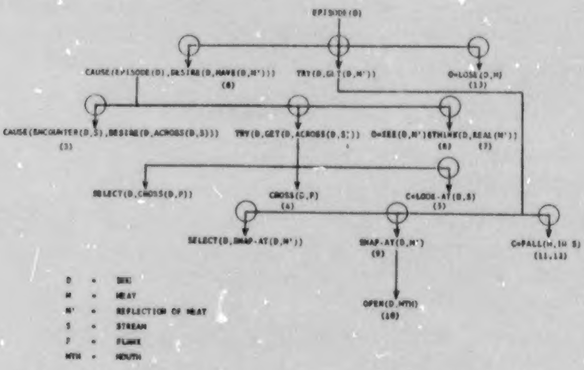
This hypothesis, however plausible it may seem, contrasts sharply with an investigation by Long and Harding-Esch. These researchers in their investigation of "Summary and Recall of Text in First and Second Languages" have found that, according to the *second-language deficit*, people generally perform the same task less well in a second language than in their first. Long and Harding-Esch's subjects, English students learning French and French students learning English, showed more problems in written summaries and recalls of orally presented texts than one would have expected taking into account their general communicative proficiency (Long and Harding-Esch 1978).

In their experience ten native speakers of English learning French and ten native speakers of French learning English had to summarize a ten-minute long orally presented speech in their primary and a ten-minute long speech in their secondary languages. The speeches in both languages dealt with complicated topics. With the help of a rather complex evaluation system Long and Harding-Esch discovered considerable qualitative differences between the native and non-native summaries; a result which actually verified their concept of the "second-language deficit". In *our* replication of the Rumelhart experiment we tried to do everything to follow his design, method of data collection and evaluation as closely as possible. The only remarkable difference was that we had almost twice as many subjects as Rumelhart (18 instead of 10) and that our subjects were non-native speakers of English. The personal data we collected showed in addition that our subjects compared with each other had very similar learning histories as to their acquisition of English, that they had spent very little or no time in an English-speaking country, and that they had very little prior experience in summarizing stories in English. Unfortunately we were not able to recruit an equal number of female and male students: 14 of the 18 subjects were girls.

To give you just one example of what the summaries of our subjects looked like, let me quote the summary of the Dog story of subject 15:

> The Dog and His Shadow
>
> A dog had got a piece of meat. On his way home, he had to cross a little bridge. Suddenly he saw his own shadow reflected in the water, too, he snapped at it. But the meat, which he was carrying in his mouth, fell into the water.

Diagram 2. Structure of level-2-summary (according to Rumelhart 1977:283)


EPISODE(D)
CAUSE(EPISODE(D),DESIRE(D,HAVE(D,M')))
(8)
TRY(D,GET(D,M'))
O=LOSE(D,M)
(13)
CAUSE(ENCOUNTER(D,S),DESIRE(D,ACROSS(D,S)))
(3)
TRY(D,GET(D,ACROSS(D,S)))
O=SEE(D,M')&THINK(D,REAL(M'))
(6)
(7)
SELECT(D,CROSS(D,P))
CROSS(D,P)
(4)
C=LOOK-AT(D,S)
(5)
SELECT(D,SNAP-AT(D,M'))
SNAP-AT(D,M')
(9)
C=FALL(M,IN S)
(11,12)
OPEN(D,MTH)
(10)
D = DOG
M = MEAT
M' = REFLECTION OF MEAT
S = STREAM
P = PLANK
MTH = MOUTH

In this context I would like to remind you that 50% of Rumelhart's students also produced a level 2 summary of this story.

The various times used to summarize each of the four stories by each of the 18 subjects were carefully checked as well as the total time taken for the whole experiment by each subject. A careful analysis of the temporal variables involved discloses large individual differences and variations between the individual stories.

On the basis of the assumption, inferred from Rumelhart's experiment, that each individual subject, no matter whether he speaks English as his first or second language, uses his individual level of summarizing, a comparison and statistical analysis between all summaries on the same levels chosen by the subjects was undertaken. This kind of analysis of the American and German Dog story data, for instance, was based on all level 2 summaries.

None of these very elaborate comparisons showed any statistically significant differences between the American subjects and our students. There were also no statistically significant differences in the additions made.

The result of our replication of Rumelhart's experiment of the comprehension and summarization of four brief stories in English by 18 German students, in other words, is simply this: there were no remarkable differences between them, that is to say: the German subjects did as well as the American subjects. Or to put if differently: the knowledge to summarize brief stories does not suffer from a learner's second language deficit, as Long and Harding-Esch have found, but rather profits from a processing strategy that is procedurally known from one's L1 and may be easily transferred (or activated) in one's L2. Or to state it differently: narrative schemata in related cultures are procedural devices which are activated and used in more than one language. One who knows how to tell a story in German, knows how to tell a story in English (as far as the general processing strategy of story telling is concerned) and one who can summarize a text in his first language surely can do the same thing in his second language.

Contrastive Psycholinguistics, less interested in the *products* of first and second languages than Contrastive Linguistics is, seeks to investigate the underlying *processes* of perception and production. What we should be looking at in our attempt to identify language learners' problems is not so much the different linguistic systems the learner is struggling against, but the one information processing system he has and the procedures he uses to deal with his linguistic in- and output. Some of these procedures, such as summarizing brief stories are definitely applied across languages; others must be modified in the process of learning a language. At present, I admit, we do not know very much about this. But there can be no doubt that we ought to know - and that we are able to know much more about *how* languages are processed in human beings.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, J.R. 1976. *Language, Memory and Thought*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Anderson, J.R. 1980. *Cognitive Psychology and its Implications*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.

Fillmore, C.J. 1979. On fluency, in C.J. Fillmore, D. Kempler and W.S.-Y. Wang (eds.), *Individual Differences in Language Ability and Language Behavior*, New York, San Francisco and London: Academic Press.

Halbe, H. (ed.) 1976. *Psycholinguistik*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Long, J. and E. Harding-Esch 1978. Summary and Recall of Text in First and Second Languages, in D. Gerver and H.W. Sinaiko (eds.), *Language Interpretation and Communication*, NATO conference series, New York: Plenum Press, 273-287.

Rumelhart, D.E. 1977. Understanding and Summarizing Brief Stories, in D. LaBerge and S.J. Samels (eds.), *Basic Processes in Reading: Perception and Comprehension*, Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, 265-303.

# LANGUAGE VARIATION AND THE DEATH OF LANGUAGE TEACHING

C.J. Brumfit
*University of London*

It would be foolish, if interesting, to argue that our attitudes to linguistic variation will lead to the death of the language teaching profession, but it is a great deal less foolish to argue that *teaching*, in the sense of imparting knowledge, cannot survive the recognition that linguistic systems are fluid and flexible, rather than idealised and static. I wish to argue that there has been a genuine paradigm shift in language teaching, the impact of which is only beginning to be felt. This is a shift away from the notion that a language can be perceived by learners as a fixed system to an emphasis on its negotiability in a social context. Learners are no longer learning basic sentences to establish the fundamental patterns of the language (Prendergast 1872), but they are learning how to mean (Halliday 1975).

As with any major shift of emphasis, there have been contributory factors from a variety of sources to this one. Particularly, methodologists in both mother tongue and foreign language teaching have responded both to the experience of classroom practice and to the shifts of emphasis in linguistic theory of the past few decades. It is clear from Prendergast's writings a hundred years ago that statements about sentence patterns reflect not simply a methodological principle, but also a view of what knowledge of a language consists of - and this is of course a view which was much more understandable in the shadow of the classical tradition of teaching dead languages mainly through their literature, and in the absence of recording devices to reify, if not stabilise, spoken linguistic data. But mother tongue methodologists like Barnes and Britton (Barnes, Britton and Rosen 1969) and foreign language methodologists like Allwright (1977) and Johnson (1979) have increasingly insisted on the need for learners to create language for themselves through interaction with other speakers. In part this approach derives from the work of Vygotsky (1962) and other Soviet psychologists, in part from a pragmatic response to classroom practices, in part from an increased sensitivity to the languages and dialects of hitherto undervalued groups, and in part to philosophical and anthropological traditions reflected in the work of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969), on the one hand, and Hymes (1971) and Labov (1972), on the other.

But this is not precisely the shift simply from grammatical concerns to functional ones, for it arises out of methodology rather than linguistic description and has been as much influenced by people right outside linguistics or applied linguistics as it has by those inside. How has it come about?

The standard approach to linguistic description involves a process of idealization of raw data which has been succinctly described by Lyons (1972). Linguistic forms are regularised and standardised so that variation between speakers or between the same speaker on one occasion opposed to another are eliminated. There are recognised procedures for ensuring consistency in the construction of a grammar of a language. And of course such idealisation is essential if description is to be approached in a principled way at all. For the purposes of description this, or a series of analogous procedures, is unavoidable.

But description of a language cannot be identified with learning a language, nor with teaching it. Indeed, descriptive devices may create teaching methods which are actually inappropriate. The heavy emphasis in pronunciation teaching on minimal pair practice, and the consequent emphasis in segmental rather than suprasegmental features, seems to reflect the techniques and sequencing of descriptive phonetics rather than the priorities of many teaching situations. But even more serious, too strong a concern for the techniques of description may create a paradigm which inhibits development not only in areas where science can be applied, but within science itself.

Out of dissatisfaction with the concept of an idealised, static model two independent traditions have developed. On the one hand there has been the attempt to specify variable rules, to reformulate competence as communicative competence and to specify the 'rules of use without which the rules of grammar would be useless' (Hymes 1971:15). This has been essentially an attempt to expand the descriptive model, and has led to various descriptive procedures being adapted to language teaching. Notions and functions (van Ek 1975; Wilkins 1976), needs analyses specified in various ways (Munby 1978), and procedural syllabuses (Candlin and Breen 1980) are all illustrations of this trend. On the other hand, the methodological tradition referred to earlier has developed, in part going back to Newmark (1966), and produced teaching which allows students much greater freedom of manoeuvre than was customary in the past, or which alternatively ignores linguistic grading altogether (Prabhu and Carroll 1980). Insofar as the descriptive model has been applied to the classroom, the integrity of language *teaching* has remained inviolate; but insofar as the methodological model has been influential, language teaching has been replaced by language learning, facilitated by teachers, or - more recently - by an insistence on a distinction between learning and acquisition (Krashen 1981). Discussion of this distinction is often rather confused, but essentially acquisition is held to be unconscious, natural and effective, while learning is held to be conscious, unnatural and less effective. 'Teaching' is seen as the obverse of 'learning', and a new role has to be found for those who organise classrooms. They now become facilitators of acquisition.

There is a lot of cant in the discussion of new terms for the varied functions of teachers, and much discussion in language teaching circles displays unfortunate ignorance of such basic educational philosophical positions as Dewey's 'learning by doing' (Dewey 1916), let alone of the work of earlier language teaching theorists. Nonetheless, there have been changes in the role of the teacher which have impinged on the classroom through more recent movements. From Freire (1971) comes the notion of teacher as agitator, with an insistence on language activity as being dependent on response to people's deepest social needs, with implications for political activity. From other sources (Curran 1976 among others) there is a demand for the teacher as participant in a therapeutic process, in which the teacher requires the teaching as desperately as the learner requires the learning. More directly therapeutic models, mainly through the ideas of Rogers (1969) and the encounter group movement, can be seen to underlie 'humanistic' approaches to language teaching, most particularly in the work of Moskowitz (1978). Various other approaches to language teaching such as Lozanov's Suggestopaedia (1978) and Gattegno's Silent Way (1972) have been rather confusingly grouped with the humanistic movement, most influentially through their juxtaposition in Stevick's discussions (1976, 1980). They share a concern to break traditional language teaching moulds, but Lozanov's work is essentially an application of a particular learning theory, while Gattegno's works backwards from a pragmatic and personal approach to language learning. The justification for grouping all these together relies mainly on their explicit concern for what learners themselves bring to the learning process. This, however, is not uniquely the prerogative of humanistic theorists, but a recurrent theme of educational discussion. Moskowitz's comment (1978:11) that 'traditionally education pours content into the student. Affective education draws it out of the student' is simply a paraphrase of a cliché of traditional educational discourse. Altogether, though, the emphasis on individual learner creativity has been a beneficial reaction against the potential aridities of pure audiolingualism. The specific methods produced, though, do indicate a paradox, for the more allegedly student-centred the procedure, the more firmly established seem to be the rules for teachers to observe. Gattegno, Lozanov, and Curran have all found schools of followers who seem intolerant of departures from the basic patterns of behaviour laid down for teachers, and students. It is by no means clear that adoption of humanistic procedures will free more than it binds. The method intrudes, even if the teacher does not.

The source of the general difficulty to which all of these various answers have been addressed is the perceived relationship between teaching and learning. There are crucial differences between the two processes which make it impossible to conceive of one as simply the obverse of the other. It is probably most helpful to show these in a chart.

| | *Teaching* | *Learning* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Causative by intention. | May occur willingly or unwillingly. |
| 2. | Linear: it takes place in real time. | May be linear of holistic. |
| 3. | Can be planned. | Cannot be planned. |
| 4. | The product of conscious effort. | ? usually not. |
| 5. | Based on a syllabus. | Not based on a syllabus. |
| 6. | Testable in principle because it can be observed by 'experts' hence. | Only the results can be tested, not the process. |
| 7. | Experts can be produced: a profession. | Experts cannot be produced. |
| 8. | Administratively constrained. | Not constrained. |
| 9. | Effectiveness cannot be measured. | Effectiveness can be measured by results. |

Essentially these differences result from the fact that teaching is overt and public, while learning is covert and private. Of course learning can take place in a public place, but teaching is the performance of certain rituals, while learning is the effective acquisition of some knowledge or ability. What, then, is the role of teaching in the process of learning?

If we think of teaching as being primarily about *availability*, and learning as about effective *internalisation*, this may clarify our discussion of methodology somewhat. The teacher, through presentation of language - that is through the implementation of a pedagogic syllabus, and through the process of correction, is aiming to make available to the student the tokens of the language through which the student can construct a viable dialect for use. The process of teaching is thus analogous to presenting a student with a dictionary or grammar book. Even traditional accuracy-based teaching procedures - drilling, written slot-filling exercises, etc. - are not about learning to operate the language, but only about making available for potential use. The learning occurs in the process of using, and particularly in the process of improvisation with tokens of the language which have been presented through teaching or other means of exposure. The native speaker picks up tokens by the process of living with other native speakers (Halliday 1975), and out of them constructs a viable, negotiable currency for the achievement of personal aims. The non-native speaker has to have an alternative, and more artificial means of exposure to the tokens, but the construction of the currency must be a social act, and it is the construction that is the learning, not the simple acquisition of un-negotiable tokens. The act of teaching is a prelude to the act of learning, but it will not lead to learning if opportunities for teaching-free language work do not occur. For part of the time at least the teacher must cease teaching and simply become a participant in a linguistic community.

All this is speculative, and psychologically so vague as to be unhelpful. However, we are not engaged in a psychological discussion but a methodological one. An attempt to distinguish teaching from learning in this way enables us to remain consistent with the intuitions of many experienced teachers about how they operate in language classes, provides a partial explanation for the attraction of methodological solutions to the problem of language variation, accords with a functionalist approach to language acquisition, and gives trainee teachers a rule of thumb to operate, for they can classify the work they do as accuracy-based or fluency (ie. learning)-based. The death of teaching need not imply the death of the teacher.

It may be objected, though, that a methodological discussion such as this has value in educational circles but very little relevance to applications of linguistics. I think this would be a mistaken view. For one thing the evidence of the classroom is evidence from one of the few relatively natural settings in which language is the chief justification for the interaction, so that a description of language must take into account any difficulties confronted by classroom practitioners. For another, teachers are, among other things, users of linguistic descriptions, and the limitations of descriptions in the classroom provide useful evidence for their efficiency in relation to language acquisition and use. If the problem-based perspective of teaching leads us to demand that language for learning should be closely related to the feelings, ambitions and desires of learners, this is important evidence of an aspect of language variation which has hitherto been little studied. Only through discussions such as this, couched in the terms of other interests than description can linguistics retain its relationship with language, rather than with a reification and idealization of its own invention. It is true that teaching is not description, but it needs the descriptions of linguists, and linguists need the problems of teachers as part of their data. Both linguistics and language teaching have to come to terms with language variation. Language variation has led to the modification of language teaching; let us hope that that development will assist the development of linguistics.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allwright, R.L. 1977. Language Learning through Communication Practice, *ELT Documents* 76/3, 2-14.

Austin, J.L. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barnes, D., J. Britton and H. Rosen 1969. *Language, the Learner, and the School*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Pooks.

Breen, M.P. and C.N. Candlin 1980. The essentials of a communicative curriculum in language teaching, *Applied Linguistics* 1, 89-112.

Brumfit, C.J. and K. Johnson (eds.) 1979. *The Communicative Approach to Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Curran, C. 1976. *Counseling-Learning in Second Language Learning*. New York: Apple River Press.

Dewey, J. 1916. *Democracy and Education*. New York: Macmillan.

Freire, P. 1971. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Herder & Herder.

Gattegno, C. 1972. *Teaching Foreign Languages in Schools: The Silent Way*. 2nd edition. New York, Educational Solutions.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. *Learning How to Mean*. London: Edward Arnold.

Hinde, R.A. (ed.) 1972. *Non-Verbal Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hymes, D. 1971. On communicative competence, Philadelphia, University of Philadelphia Press, and extracted in Brumfit and Johnson (eds.) 1979, from which cited.

Johnson, K. 1979. Communicative approaches and communicative processes, in Brumfit and Johnson (eds.) 1979, 192-205.

Krashen, S. 1981. *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning*. Oxford: Pergamon.

Labov, W. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lozanov, G. 1978. *Suggestology and Outlines of Suggestopedy*. New York: Gordon & Breach.

Lyons, J. 1972. Human language, in Hinde (ed.) 1972, 49-85.

Moskowitz, G. 1978. *Caring and Sharing in the Foreign Language Class*. Rowley Mass.: Newbury House.

Munby, J. 1978. *Communicative Syllabus Design*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Newmark, L. 1966. How not to interfere with language learning, *International Journal of American Linguistics* 32, 77-83.

Prabhu, N.S. and D. Carroll 1980. Introduction to Newsletter of Regional Institute of English Bangalore, Special Series 1, 4, April 1980.

Prendergast, T. 1872. *The Mastery of Languages*. 3rd edition. London: Longman.

Rogers, C. 1969. *Freedom to Learn*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill.

Searle, J. 1969. *Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stevick, E.W. 1976. *Memory Meaning & Method*. Rowley Mass.: Newbury House.

Stevick, E.W. 1980. *Teaching Languages: A Way & Ways*. Rowley Mass.:

Newbury House.

van Ek, J. 1975. *The Threshold Level*. Oxford: Pergamon for the Council of Europe.

Vygotsky, L.S. 1962. *Thought and Language*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Wilkins, D.A. 1976. *Notional Syllabuses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

# GRAMMATICAL MODELS AND CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Olga Mišeska Tomić
*University "Kiril i Metodij"*
*Skopje*

One of the major dilemmas of the contrastive linguist has been whether (a) to base his analysis on one of the existing linguistic models, and if so on which, (b) to construct and work with a new "typically contrastive" model, or else (c) describe and contrast different linguistic aspects within different frameworks. The decision between alternatives (a) and (b), on the one hand and alternative (c), on the other, depends on the objectives of the analysis, on whether it aims at solving some theoretical questions or else its purpose is applicative. Theoretically geared analyses have to be based on soundly defined models, they can never be eclectic. When contrasting for immediate application one can, however, pick and choose from a variety of models. As for the choice between any of the possibilities of alternative (a) selection of one of the existing models and alternative (b) construction of a new model, it depends on the analyst's judgement about the model/data relationship. The decision to work within one of the existing frameworks or construct a new one is not or should not be influenced by the fact that more than one language is described.

Contrastive analyses are assumed to be conducted along the horizontal dimensions, necessarily involved in comparing an element or a class of elements in L1 with an equivalent element or a class of elements in L2 and/or *vice versa*. Nevertheless, this comparison can take place only if and when L1 and L2 are adequately described, where adequately implies within the same model. As a rule, the contrastive linguist does not find such descriptions; he chooses a description of one of the languages to be contrasted and describes the other language within the framework of this description. Whether and to what an extent such a description is creative might be a subject for discussion. We might imagine a situation where the output of the rules of a given language is simply translated into another language. It is, however, most often the case that the algorithms are modified (more or less radically) and the description of the second of the two languages to be contrasted (it may be L1 or L2) has a feedback on the model itself. When the language happens not to have been described within any version of the models of modern linguistics, this feedback is substantial. The contrastivists engaged in the Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project, for example, have been gradually building up formal grammars of Serbo-Croatian (within different frameworks, though, since no unique model has a priori been adopted). But even when both L1 and L2 have been described within the same version of the same model, the contrastivist has to modify existing rules or add new ones and thus become engaged in work along the vertical dimension of the realization of a universal category in L1 and/or L2. This not only blurs the distinction between the so-called theoretical and applied contrastive linguistics but also questions the justification of setting up specifically contrastive grammars.

The essentials of generative grammar, ie. the universal base hypothesis, the underlying/surface structure distinction and the explicit description of language reality, satisfy beautifully the needs of contrastive linguistics. The universal base hypothesis, the assumption that, at an abstract level, all languages are alike, provides a sound *tertium comparationis*. The underlying/surface structure distinction sets off the universal from the language particular. The explicit derivation makes it possible to define precisely the similarities and the differences. Of course, not all generative models may suit the needs of a contrastivist equally well. Objectively or subjectively, the individual analyst may find one model more suitable than the other. He may feel it necessary to modify a given framework or even construct a new one. But the only possible specific characteristic of this novice would be that it is "specifically appropriate" for contrastive analyses. This characteristic is, however, very subjective. What is appropriate for some may not be appropriate for others. When other contrastive linguists are faced with the problem of choosing a model to work with, they evaluate the "contrastive model" along with all others.

Whether we choose one of the existing models or construct a new, specifically "contrastive" one, we work without the realm of contrasting proper. The theory may be built up *in abstracto* for a language X and then applied to languages A and B. Alternatively, and more frequently, it may come out through the description of language A and then be used for the description of language B. In either case, one is engaged in both theory building and description. When we start from X, we first lay out the theory, which might be, and often has been, called universal; then, on the basis of this theory, we go on to describe the individual languages. In this case we might go along with Pit Corder (1973) and refer to the latter description as the first application of a given theory. When we start from language A and build up theory X while describing this language, we subsequently apply the theory to the description of language B. Then it is impossible to set a clear boundary between language theory and language description since there is a permanent intersection between A and X.

One cannot say that the distinction between theory and description is very clear even when we start from X and move to A and B, since every description brings about a modification of the theory. We are certainly justified in distinguishing between theory building and first order application of this theory for language description, during which the theory is rigorously tested against the realities of the language(s) it aims to account for. This distinction, however, does not always set off an abstract theory X from individual language descriptions A and/or B. Very often we have the case of theory building while describing language A. Thus, we can speak of first order application when applying a given theory to the description of a language, whether it is built *in abstracto* or while describing language A. Of course, this application may have, and often does have, theoretical reflexes, which incur modifications of the theory applied. Yet, it is distinct from theory building. It is also distinct from all applications which fall under the heading of applied linguistics, such as those in psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, neurolinguistics, computational linguistics, or contrastive linguistics. Many of these applications occur at the interface between linguistics and some other area and thus combine the intersects of two disciplines. With contrastive linguistics this is not the case. It is concerned with the problem of how a system or a category, realised in language A as X, is rendered in language B. Whereas the relationship of language description, which relates a universal category to individual languages, is vertical, the relationship of contrast, which relates the descriptions of each two languages, is horizontal.

All major grammatical models have been created in close adherence to descriptions of certain individual languages and the contrastivist is faced with the problem of describing language B by using a model on the basis of which language A has already been described. This part of his job, however, is not part of contrastive linguistics. He is merely accomplishing a task the results of which are a prerequisite for contrasting. Thus, rather than distinguishing, along with Fisiak (1981), between theoretical contrastive linguistics, which looks for the realization of a universal category X in languages A and B, and applied contrastive linguistics, which, drawing on the findings of theoretical contrastive linguistics, provides a framework for comparison of languages, we should consider the work involved in describing a system or a category according to a given theory as part of linguistics *per se* and qualify as falling within contrastive linguistics only that section of our work which is concerned with contrasting proper. Thus, model building (whether in the relation X to A and X to B or in the relation A to X ant then to B, and whether for language description or contrasting) falls outside the realm of contrastive linguistics and so does language description. Contrastive linguistics relates individual language systems or language categories which are already described on the basis of a given (same) model.

The contrasting is done for specific purposes: teaching, bilingual analysis, translation, to name only a few. Most often, however, the purpose is not taken *a priori* into consideration. And it should not be. The criticisms that contrastive linguistics has been made for language teaching but does not have adequate application in it has resulted from the failure to see the difference between contrastive linguistics and its application. While contrastive linguistics is an applied linguistic discipline which uses the results or theoretical and/or descriptive linguistics, its application to teaching is an interface between contrasting and various concerns with the total language teaching situation, some parts of which may be dealt with in a scientific or quasi-scientific way while others are more humanistic and view teaching as an art as well as an application of some theory. In addition to its application in teaching, contrastive linguistics may have various other applications, such as translation, bilingual analysis, lexicography... When embarking upon these applications, the analyst selects from the findings of contrastive linguistics the elements which are necessary for a certain, specific purpose. The criteria for the selection are all set by the purpose, and no unity of model is *a priori* presupposed. Whereas descriptive and contrastive linguists have to operate within one particular language model, pedagogically oriented linguists can operate within a range of linguistic descriptions. For pedagogical purposes, one can select from a variety of grammars which reflect a variety of theories; different language theories offering equally useful insights into the language from a teaching point of view. From this fact one should not conclude that the linguists who select aspects of contrastive linguistics for pedagogical purposes have greater freedom than the descriptivists or the contrastivists. A pedagogical grammar will be judged from at least two points of view: according to its representation of the language under consideration and according to its suitability to fulfill the particular pedagogical objectives which it aims to fulfill. The writer of a pedagogical grammar will have to select from a contrastive grammar the amount of information which students of a certain age and with a certain educational and linguistic background can digest. In doing this, he would have to draw upon other applied linguistic disciplines, in particular upon psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics and their various offshoots. He would have to take into account not only the differences and similarities between the native language of the learners and the target language or the probable areas of difficulty but also the psychological processes involved in learning a foreign language and the ways in which a language is used in society as well as the varieties and modes of a given language, which are to be described and taught.

Our considerations so far lead to changes in the pure/impure (ie. applied) labels of individual linguistic tasks. All the tasks that have to be done before one embarks upon contrasting proper fall within the realm of pure linguistics. Some of them (the ones involved in model building) are theoretical, others are required for the descriptions of individual languages. The boundary between theoretical and descriptive tasks is not clearly set. As was said above, whether we first build up a model *in abstracto* and then proceed to describe individual languages on the basis of this description or else we model while describing a language A and then apply this model to the description of language B, we have always feedbacks from the description to the model. Yet, in any case we remain within the boundaries of linguistic proper. When contrasting, we cross these boundaries and start to swim in applied waters. Contrastive linguistics, along with psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, computational linguistics, etc. is an applied linguistics discipline. As such, it has an autonomous status, though not without considerations of possible further applications. But these applications involve further processing.

When it first came into being, the term "applied linguistics" referred to the application of linguistics in the field of language teaching or language pedagogy (the latter term might be more suitable since it covers not only the actual teaching but also all the tasks catering to it, such as writing pedagogical grammars or course planning.) Nowadays, language pedagogy is a discipline which processes further the results of other applied linguistic sciences; it is an applied linguistic discipline once removed or an applied applied linguistic discipline. When it uses the findings of contrastive linguistics, language pedagogy has been referred to as pedagogical contrastive linguistics. When it uses the findings of sociolinguistics or psycholinguistics, it has been called pedagogical sociolinguistics and pedagogical psycholinguistics, respectively. Since each of the applied linguistic disciplines can interrelate with quite a number of other disciplines, even subdisciplines such as "pedagogical contrastive sociolinguistics" have emerged (see Janick 1981). Is all this taxonomy necessary?

We can make a good use of studies which contrast the findings of sociolinguistic studies of individual languages; they are to offer information about the influence of the variation in any two languages upon the language contact or about the appropriateness of use of various registers in individual speaking situations. Contrasts of individual psycholinguistic data, such as attitudinal or emotive variables in the language source and language target, would also be beneficial. Nevertheless, it does not seem necessary to set off clearly defined sub- sub- sub-...disciplines.

In the heyday of generative transformational grammar, linguistics was singled out as a super science, which catered only for the competence side of language. Lately linguists have become increasingly aware that psycholinguistics and especially sociolinguistic parameters have to be included in the language model if the latter is to become a close representation of language reality. Universal grammars are no longer built through projection of grammars of individual languages; the data offered by contrastive linguistics are becoming a necessary prerequisite for linguistic generalizations. And even if we remain within the boundaries of applied linguistics, there is so much give and take between the disciplines that any attempt to precisely define and label possible intersections would lead to proliferated taxonomies, which yet would not be *verbatim* representations of all the different contributions.

The only feasible and indispensable divisions we could do are those between pure and applied linguistics, on the one hand (though what is pure is again questionable), and between both of these *vis-à-vis* all possible practical uses which require processings of any of the pure of applied linguistic disciplines, on the other. Thus, while model building and all possible descriptions on the basis of given models would fall within pure linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, theory of translation, contrastive linguistics and error analysis, among others, could be listed as applied linguistic disciplines. Foreign language teaching or translation make use of the findings of descriptive linguistics as well as contrastive linguistics, error analysis, psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics (the list is not exhaustive). The contributions of each of these are so interwoven and the influences are so complex that any attempt at pinpointing is futile. Our recent awareness of the fact that the findings of the applied linguistics disciplines need further processing before they are used for specific purposes should not lead to making lists of complex subdisciplines which strive to represent transparently all possible contributions. Modern navigation uses the results of so many sciences without even attempting to physically represent them in a new transparent title. Language pedagogy could, likewise, avail of all the benefits ot the pure and applied linguistics sciences without having to delimit their spheres of influence. Interdisciplinariness is a must of the modern age which can be and is present without being transparent.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Corder, S. P. 1973. *Introducing Applied Linguistics*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Fisiak, J. 1981. Some Introductory Notes Concerning Contrastive Linguistics, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive Linguistics and the Language Teacher*, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1-11.

Janick, K. 1981. Pedagogical Contrastive Sociolinguistics, in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive Linguistics and the Language Teacher*, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 185-194.

# APPLIED CONTRASTIVE LINGUISTICS: IN SEARCH OF A FRAMEWORK

Jerzy Rubach
*University of Warsaw*

## INTRODUCTION

The problems besetting theoretical contrastive linguistics are in great part reflected in applied contrastive linguistics. This is not surprising since the mutual dependence of these two fields of study can hardly be doupted. It suffices to look at the course of development of the Polish Contrastive Project[1] to see that theoretical studies as a rule precede applied linguistic research. The latter draws on the former and this relationship seems to be perfectly natural. Thus, for example, studies of language interference are always couched in some more general theoretical framework and the results of these studies depend heavily on the kind of framework in which they are carried out[2].

---

[1] This Project has been continuing for the past eleven years. It has produced much research which has been published in a series of volumes edited by J. Fisiak and entitled *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics*, cf. Fisiak (1973) for the first volume.

[2] One should draw an obvious distinction between linguistic studies of an applied nature and practical teaching methods. Thus, for instance, the teaching of [uw] as in *two*, *move*, *boot*, etc. to Polish learners of English may be made much easier by pointing out to the learner that the English word *do* (or some such word) is pronounced in virtually the same way as the Polish word *dół* 'hole' [duw] (with the exception of the Eastern dialect of Polish where ł is a dark ℓ rather than a semivowel). The two words differ in their consonants (no partial devoicing in Polish) but the syllable nuclei are perfectly comparable both phonemically and phonetically. Such teaching tricks are simply instances of translating certain findings of a theoretical nature into language which is comprehensible from the point of view of a learner who is not a linguist. Some such procedure is obviously required also for the implementation of the results which emerge from the study of phonological interference analysed later in this paper.

This paper sets out to illustrate how the results that are relevant for applied linguistics differ depending on the theoretical framework in which the analysis is made. Further, we shall try to discover which of the frameworks considered in this paper is able to arrive at the most useful conclusions from the point of view of applied linguistics and, specifically, from the point of view of teaching English as a foreign language. The search for a framework is illustrated by an analysis of various facts from phonological interference. Polish is taken as the native language while British English (Received Pronunciation) is assumed to be the target language for most of the examples which we shall consider.

## THE PHONEMIC FRAMEWORK

Let us assume for the moment that we are working within the framework of American distributional phonemics of the 1950's. Weinreich (1953) is a classic example of a phonemic approach to phonological interference.

Weinreich distinguishes four basic types of phonic interference:

(i) under-differentiation of phonemes;
(ii) over-differentiation of phonemes;
(iii) reinterpretation of distinctions; and
(iv) phone substitution (Weinreich 1953:18-19).

He observes that types (ii) and (iii) "might not warrant being termed interference at all" (1953:19).

Type (ii), over-differentiation of phonemes, is basically a purely theoretical construct. It refers to those cases where allophones of the target language are treated as if they were phonemes by speakers of the native language. This is due to the fact that the native language has a richer system of phonemic distinctions than the target language. While such phonemization of allophones is interesting from the point of view of the structure of phonemic systems, there is little that it has in common with actual performance on the part of language learners.

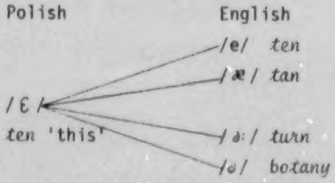
Type (iii), reinterpretation of distinctions, may also have little significance for practically oriented studies of interference. It is claimed that native speakers reinterpret redundant features of the target language as parameters which are phonemically relevant.

This has obvious consequences for the classification of phonemes but little importance for performance in the foreign language.

Attention should be drawn to Weinreich's types (i) and (iv) of phonic interference as these are directly relevant to any analysis which sets out to predict mistakes in the pronunciation of a foreign language.

Type (i), under-differentiation of phonemes, is best illustrated by comparing the system of front and central vowels of English in the perceptual area of the Polish /ɛ/ phoneme[3]. Figure (1) presents the relevant facts:

(1)



Apart from /ɛ/ the system of vowel phonemes in Polish includes only /i ɨ u/, the high vowels, mid /o/ and low /a/. It is therefore clear that Poles may perceive the contrasting syllables of the English words in (1) as homophonous, especially as Polish makes no phonemic or phonetic distinction of vowel length.

Type (iv) in Weinreich's classification, phonic substitution, is also directly relevant to predicting potential mistakes in the speech of Polish learners of English. For example, Polish /i/ and English /I/ are defined in exactly the same way in their respective phonemic systems: both vowels are high and front. Yet, the principal member of the English /I/ phoneme is a front retracted half close vowel while the principal member of the Polish /i/ is a truly high and front vowel. Consequently, the phonemic identity of the vowels in the Polish *tik* 'twitch' and the English *tick* results in a phonetically distinct performance in each of these languages. One may easily predict that Poles will have a problem acquiring the correct pronunciation of English words which have the phoneme /I/, eg. *bit*, *fit*, *dig*, *kick*, etc.

---

[3] We use slashes to enclose phonemes in the structural approach and intermediate stages in generative phonology. Square brackets denote allophones or phonetic representation, double slashes // // refer to underlying segments in generative phonology.

Weinreich's concept of substitution may be extended further to cover some cases of phonemic replacement. A comparison of the Polish and English phonemes in the perceptual area of front and central vowels presented in (1) warrants the conclusion that Poles will substitute /ɛ/ for the English phonemes /e æ əː ə / in *ten*, *tan*, *turn* and *botany*. This conclusion follows from the fact that Polish has only one phoneme /ɛ/ while English has four phonemes in the perceptual area under consideration. In sum, the prediction about phonological interference is made here on the basis of comparing inventories. Such a procedure seems fully justified and it is supported by the data adduced in our observations of the acquisition of English by Polish learners. In other words, the prediction is borne out.

Weinreich's theory, which we take as an example of the structuralist framework, includes yet another mechanism which explains some facts of phonological interference. The mechanism in point is that of phonotactic restrictions, ie. the restrictions which describe combinatorial properties of phonemes. To illustrate this notion we consider an example from English and we pursue its consequences for the structure of Polish. This time conclusions refer to the acquisition of Polish by native speakers of English.

English exhibits some constraints on the structure of word initial clusters. We are interested here in two term clusters which begin with a stop consonant.[4] The combinatorial properties of English phonemes restrict such clusters to a stop followed by a liquid:

(2) please, pray, trip, clean, cry, blow, bring, etc.

The phonotactic constraint just mentioned evaluates clusters such as */pm/, */pn/, */pt/, */kp/, etc. as ill-formed, ie. "unEnglish". Consequently words which come from borrowing and which happen to violate the combinatorial restrictions which we have mentioned tend to restructure in order to comply with the pattern required by English. This mechanism, known in linguistics as phonotactic pressure, is responsible for the loss of /p/ in words such as *psychology*, *Psyche*, *pseudonym*, *pterodactyl*, etc.

---

[4] There is also a well known constraint on three term clusters: if a word begins with three consonants then the first segment must be /s/, the second is a stop and the third is a liquid, eg. *split*, *spray*, etc.

The interesting point is that the same mechanism is carried over to language interference. Thus native speakers of English who learn Polish find it extremely difficult to pronounce words such as *ptak* [pt] 'bird', not to mention more complex clusters such as *zżółknąć* [zž-] 'become yellow', *chrzęst* [xš-] 'crunch', etc. As a first approximation, [p] is simply dropped in *ptak* 'bird' and the like. Upon further trials learners start inserting a schwa between the stops: [pətak] . Note that once the schwa has been inserted, there is no consonant cluster and hence the phonotactic constraints are not applicable. In this way English learners of Polish subconsciously fulfil the requirement of complying with the combinatorial properties of the phonemes in their native language. Phonological interference is thus explained by referring not to the structure of the phonemic system alone but to the laws of phonotactics.

## PROBLEMS

Let us now turn to two other classes of examples. The first class exemplifies the behaviour of stop consonants. The second class refers to the problem of analysing structures such as /ni/ vs. /ti/, /di/, /si/, etc. This time we will look at the facts of phonological interference first, before we seek to discover the language mechanism which underlies the respective negative transfer.

Polish learners of English notoriously mispronounce those English words where obstruents disagree in the value for voicing, ie. the words which exhibit sequences of phonemes of which the first is voiced and the second voiceless or vice versa. For brevity, let us restrict our examples to the series of voiced stops:

(3) (a) obtain */pt/ for /bt/
obstacle */ps/ for /bs/
hundredth */tθ/ for /dθ/
(b) Bob, Bob showed */p/ for /b/ in both instances
sad story */t/ for /d/
big parcel */k/ for /g/, etc.

The interference exhibited by the data in (3) consists in phonemic replacement: voiceless stops are incorrectly substituted for voiced stops. The question is why such replacement should take place.

Seeking an answer in the phonotactic constraints of Polish is clearly the wrong path. Note that the replacement under discussion occurs also across word boundaries in (3b) and hence it cannot be contitioned by constraints on the structure of words.

Let us see whether some explanation may be found in the structure of phonemic systems. This does not seem to be a rewarding path either. The system of stop consonants is the same in English and in Polish.[5] It includes six members /p b t d k g/. Consequently, here, unlike in the case discussed in (1), there is no reason to claim that the substitution under discussion results from the under-differentiation of phonemes. In sum, the question of why the replacement takes place remains unanswered. This is a discomforting fact since the interference described in (3) is not only common but also perfectly regular and exceptionless. It is therefore highly unlikely that it might be accidental. To provide an answer to the question under discussion we seem to need a more complex theoretical machinery than that inherent in Weinreich's theory.

The second class of examples mentioned at the beginning of this section refers to the behaviour of /ni/ vs. /ti/, /di/, /si/, etc. Polish students of English find it extremely difficult to learn to pronounce [ni] but have no difficulty at all acquiring [ti], [di], [si], etc. Thus the words in (4a) below show srtong interference while those in (4b) do not:

(4) (a) English [ni] replaced by [ɲi], ie. alveolar nasal
is rendered as a prepalatal nasal:
university, need, monitor, morning
(b) obstruents [t d s] as required:[6]
teach, tutor, deem, dip, seem, sit, etc.

Let us note that both the dental /n/ and the prepalatal /ɲ/ are phonemes in Polish (they are also underlying segments in generative phonology). We have an abundance of contrasting pairs such as *pan* 'Mr.' - *pań* /paɲ/ 'Mrs.' (gen.pl.). In the series of obstruents we have a similar opposition of dentals vs. palatals. Thus /t d/ contrast with the affricates /tś dź/ and /s/ contrasts with /ś/:

---

[5] We bypass certain details which are not relevant to our discussion. For example, the principal allophones of /t d/ are alveolar in English and dental in Polish. Similarly, the voiced stops in (3) have partially voiceless allophones, which, however, is of no relevance to the problems under discussion. In English these partially voiceless sounds are allophones of the respective voiced stops. The negative transfer in the speech of Poles consists in the treatment of these allophones as voiceless phonemes.

[6] There is some surface interference here: Poles produce 'softened' dentals [t' d' s'] rather than [t d s] in the words below. This, however, is beside the point as the place of articulation remains unaffected, ie. there is no phonemic replacement of /t d s/ by /tś dź ś/, the prepalatal strident sounds.

(5) ciarki [tɕark'i] 'creeps' - tarki [tark'i] 'grates'
działo [dʑawo] 'cannon' - dało [dawo] 'it gave'
siać [ɕatɕ] 'sow' - sadź [satɕ] 'plant' (imper.).

We are faced now with the question of why /n/ is substituted by /ɲ/ while /t d s/ are not replaced by /tɕ dʑ ɕ/ in spite of the fact that the context in the target language is the same: the following /i/ in the words enumerated in (4). This question cannot be answered within Weinreich's framework. We have a replacement of phonemes only in one context and not in all contexts, as was the case in (1). Further, only the nasal phoneme shows interference while /t d s/, which are otherwise entirely parallel to /n/, are acquired without any problem.

## GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY: THE STANDARD MODEL

The phonemic framework discussed so far has turned out to be too narrow and not powerful enough to capture all the relevant generalizations which underlie phonological interference. No such thing can be said about the standard model of generative phonology. ie. the phonological paradigm of *The Sound Pattern of English* (Chomsky and Halle 1968; *SPE*, hereafter). This is undoubtedly one of the most powerful phonological theories ever produced. As we shall see, it is precisely the powerfulness of the *SPE* framework which renders the paradigm inadequate for studies of phonological interference.

The clearest advantage of generative phonology is its ability, on the one hand, to express the generalizations discovered within the phonemic framework, and, on the other hand, to capture those other generalizations which the classical phonemic theory was not able to deal with adequately.

The predictions which, in the phonemic framework, follow from the structure of the inventory and from phonotactic constraints are made in generative phonology in very much the same way. The differences are largely 'technical' in nature and derive from a different concept of organizing phonological structures.

In generative phonology the notion of the inventory refers to the system of underlying segments rather than to the classical phonemes. Underlying segments are reminiscent of traditional morphophonemes with the notable difference that we seek to discover one segment from which all the alternating phonemes may be derived rather than to simply enumerate the alternating phonemes, as was done in the structuralist framework. In the endeavour to establish the underlying representation of a morpheme which exhibits surface allomorphy, the linguist is not bound by principles such as bi-uniqueness, and specifically, by discovery procedures such as 'once a phoneme, always a phoneme'. This has the consequence of permitting fairly abstract representations which at times diverge considerably from surface phonetic facts.

With respect to the prediction made in (1), the generative interpretation is exactly the same. This follows from the fact that in the instance under discussion the classical phonemes correspond to underlying segments in a one-to-one relation. Thus we have a case of an under-differentiation of segments and hence we predict that Poles will tend to identify English //e æ ə: ə// with Polish //ɛ//.

Phonotactic constraints of the traditional type have been carried over to the generative framework in an almost unaltered form. The difference is in that in generative phonology such constraints describe combinatorial properties of segments in underlying representations, ie. at a more abstract level than that of the classical phonemes. Yet, with respect to the case analysed in the section dealing with the phonemic framework above, the generalizations are exactly the same in both theories. The restrictions on underlying clusters of consonants are expressed by morpheme structure conditions (MSC's). These are 'if - then' statements which are formalized in terms of phonetic features. Thus, for example, the restriction on permissible clusters of word initial stops and other consonants has the form as given in (6):

$$\text{(6) MSC} \qquad \begin{array}{llll} \text{IF:} & \# & \begin{bmatrix}+\text{obstr}\\-\text{contin}\end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix}+\text{cons}\end{bmatrix} \\ & & & \downarrow \\ \text{THEN:} & & & \begin{bmatrix}+\text{sonor}\\-\text{nas}\end{bmatrix} \end{array}$$

Words such as *ptak* 'bird' violate MSC (6) and hence it can be predicted that English learners of Polish will have difficulty acquiring the initial cluster of //p// and //t//.

The foregoing discussion, which has pointed to the similarities between the phonemic and the generative frameworks, naturally provokes the question of where the contribution of generative phonology actually lies. Eliasson (1978) has answered this question most clearly: it is the notion of a generative rule that gives a new perspective on contrastive studies in general and, we add, on the theory of phonologcal interference in particular.

At the very outset let us clarify that phonological rules cannot be considered independently of underlying representations. The task of rules is to transform these representations into phonetic structures which occur in actual speech. Thus rules supply the information which, being predictable, is not encoded at the underlying level.

Let us look at some data which refer to the distribution of voiced and voiceless stops in the surface representations of Polish morphemes. Observe that voiced and voiceless stops alternate in the same place of the same morpheme in forms such as those below:

(7) (a) o$\underline{\text{b}}$e+tn+ę 'I will cut' - o$\underline{\text{b}}$+cią+ć [optɕ-] 'to cut': /b/ ~ /p/ when the $\underline{\text{e}}$ has been dropped
ogró$\underline{\text{d}}$+ek 'garden' (dimin.) - ogró$\underline{\text{d}}$+k+a [-tk-] (gen.): /d/ ~ /t/

(b) ry$\underline{\text{b}}$+a 'fish' - ry$\underline{\text{b}}$ [-p] (gen.pl.), ry$\underline{\text{b}}$ słodkowodnych [-p] 'fresh-water fish' (gen.pl.)
sa$\underline{\text{d}}$+y 'orchards' - sa$\underline{\text{d}}$ [sat] (nom.sg.)
no$\underline{\text{g}}$+a 'leg' - nó$\underline{\text{g}}$ [nuk] 'legs' (gen.), etc.

The alternations in (7) are governed by the context: voiced stops appear between vowels, voiceless stops occur before voiceless obstruents or a word boundary. This regularity is captured in the grammar by postulating a phonological rule. Theoretically, one may assume either of the two possible interpretations:

(i) underlyingly the stops are voiceless and they become voiced intervocalically;

(ii) underlyingly the stops are voiced and they become voiceless before voiceless segments or a word boundary.

A brief look at some further data shows that the first interpretation is simply incorrect. It is perfectly normal for voiceless stops in Polish to stand between vowels, for example, *słup+ek* 'pole' (dimin.), *płot+ek* 'fence' (dimin.), *lekarz* 'doctor', etc. Intervocalic voicing is thus a false generalization. Polish must therefore have a rule of devoicing:

(8) Devoicing $[+\text{obstr}] \quad [-\text{voiced}] \;/\; \_\_ \left\{ \begin{matrix} \# \\ [-\text{voiced}] \end{matrix} \right.$

Rule (8) turns the underlying voiced stops in (7) into voiceless stops, eg. in *ogród+k+a* 'garden' (dimin. gen.) the underlying //d// of *ogród+ek* (nom.sg.) becomes [t] after the vowel of the diminutive suffix *ek* has been deleted.

Observe now that the English examples in (3) and the Polish words in (7) are entirely parallel. Voiced stops occur before voiceless obstruents or a word boundary and consequently Devoicing (8) is applicable. The facts of phonological interference discussed in (3) can now be explained as a result of the incorrect transfer of Polish Devoicing. In sum, phonological interference finds its source not only in the structure of phonemic/underlying systems and in the laws of phonotactics/morpheme structure conditions but also in phonological rules of the native language. Thus generative phonology enriches the theory of interference by bringing in the notion of a generative rule.

Let us now see whether we can arrive at a comparably successful explanation by extending the reasoning laid out in the analysis of voice assimilation to an analysis of the second class of cases discussed in point (4), section 3. Recall that the question there was why Poles mispronounced English /ni/ as /ɲi/ but did not show a similar interference when faced with otherwise comparable structures such as /ti di si/. If our reasoning is correct, then the answer to this question should follow from the phonological rule which derives [ɲ] from /n/ before front vowels. The implication here is that the interference would result from applying this rule incorrectly to the English data, as was the case with the words in (3) which showed incorrect devoicing.

Indeed, Polish has a rule of palatalization which derives palatals from 'plain' dental consonants. This rule has been widely discussed in the literature (cf. for example, Gussmann 1978 and Rubach 1981). We restate only the portion of the rule which is relevant to our discussion. Also, in this particular case, let us give the rule in its unformalized version:

(9) Ant. Pal. $$\left\{\begin{matrix} \text{t} & \text{d} \\ \text{s} & \text{z} \\ \text{n} & \end{matrix}\right\} \longrightarrow \left\{\begin{matrix} \text{tɕ} & \text{dʑ} \\ \text{ɕ} & \text{ʑ} \\ \text{ɲ} & \end{matrix}\right\} \quad / \quad \_\_\_ \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{+syll} \\ \text{-back} \end{bmatrix}$$

Anterior Palatalization (9) turns dentals to prepalatals in the context of front vowels. It thus explains alternations such as the following:

(10) bat 'whip' - bac+ik [batɕ+ik] (dimin.)
głód 'hunger' - głodz+i+ć [gwodʑ+i+tɕ] 'starve'
lis 'fox' - lis+i [l'iɕ+i] 'fox' (Adj. masc.)
mróz 'frost' - mroz+i+ć [mroʑ+i+tɕ] 'freeze'
wagon 'carriage' - wagon+ik [vagoɲ+ik] (dimin.).

For example, the underlying representation of *bac+ik* 'whip' (dimin.) is //bat+ik//. Anterior Palatalization (9) derives [tɕ] in the course of phonological derivation.

In accordance with the practice of standard generative phonology, Ant. Pal. (as well as all other rules) is taken to derive from 'plain' consonants also those instances of surface [tɕ dʑ ɕ ʑ ɲ]which occur before front vowels in words that do not exhibit any alternations:

(11) cich+y 'silent' [tɕix+ɨ] - //tix+ɨ//
dzik+o 'wildly' [dʑik+o] - //dik+o//
siw+y 'grey' [ɕiv+ɨ] - //siv+ɨ//
zim+a 'winter' [ʑim+a] - //zim+a//
nigdy 'never' [ɲigdɨ] - //nigdɨ//

The difference between the data in (10) and (11) lies in the fact that the words in (10) show surface allomorphy (alternations of 'plain' palatal consonants) while those in (11) do not. Yet, both classes are treated in the same way.

Recall now that the phonological interference described in (4) affects only /ni/ and not /ti di si/. While the occurrence of [ɲi] in *university*, *need*, etc. could be explained as a result of applying Ant. Pal. (9), the non-occurrence of [tɕi dʑi ɕi] in *teach*, *deem*, *seem* remains a mystery. Had rule (9) been the source of interference, we would have expected the palatals to appear in English spoken by Poles regardless of whether the input structure was /ni/, /ti/, /di/ or /si/. One would have claimed then that Poles interpreted English /ni ti di si/ as inputs to their native Ant. Pal. and hence all of these structures appeared as palatals due to negative transfer. However, the facts are different. It is only [ɲi] which is found as a classic pronunciation mistake.

Let us try to look for a solution somewhere else. Perhaps Ant. Pal. (9) applies only across morpheme boundaries and not morpheme internally. Thus it would handle the allomorphy exhibited by the data in (10) but it would not derive the nonalternating palatals in (11). This also turns out to be the wrong path. If the palatals in (11) are not derived by rule, then they are present at the underlying level. We thus have *cichy* 'silent' //tɕix+ɨ// rather than //tix+ɨ//. Similarly we have *nigdy* 'never' //ɲigdɨ// rather than //nigdɨ//. In sum, we are taking an extreme position in the sense that no palatals may be conceived to be derivable if they do not alternate with 'plain' consonants. This stance cannot explain the interference facts either. The difficulty is that now neither /ti di si/ nor /ni/ should cause problems in the acquisition of English by Poles. Ant. Pal. does not affect morpheme internal /ti di si ni/ and hence it should not be able to induce interference in the English morpheme internal /ti di si ni/. While this is true in the case of /ti di si/, it is false for /ni/. As pointed out in (4), English /ni/ appears invariably as [ɲi] in the speech of Poles.

From the theoretical point of view our dilemma consists in the fact that generative phonology (the standard model) does draw a distinction between /ti di si/ on the one hand and /ni/ on the other. The theory is thus too powerful. While it is unquestionably an advantage that the standard model can incorporate the predictions made by the phonemic framework and extend them further by explaining voice assimilation interference in English, the theory fails to account for the peculiar behaviour of /ni/ as opposed to /ti di si/. This difficulty can easily be overcome by the cyclic model of generative phonology.

## GENERATIVE PHONOLOGY: THE CYCLIC MODEL

The cyclic model of generative phonology, which we shall henceforth call cyclic phonology, continues most of the assumptions of the standard model. One of the most important innovations of cyclic phonology is that the new paradigm imposes severe restrictions on the operation of phonological rules and, consequently, on the abstractness of underlying representations. In this way it reduces considerably the excessive power of the standard theory.

It is not the purpose of this paper to present a complete set of principles which underlie cyclic phonology. They have been discussed in the literature (cf. Mascaró 9176, Halle 1978, Rubach 1981). We merely wish to draw attention to the following four tenets:

(i) all phonological rules are either cyclic or postcyclic;

(ii) the two classes of rule form disjoint blocs, ie. cyclic and postcyclic rules, cannot be interspersed freely in a derivation;

(iii) the class of cyclic rules follows word formation rules and precedes the class of postcyclic rules;

(iv) cyclic rules operate in accordance with the Strict Cyclicity Principle which, among others, has an effect of prohibiting cyclic rules from applying morpheme internally (for further details cf. Halle 1978 and Rubach 1981).

In Rubach (1981) I have studied in great detail Anterior Palatalization (9) and all its interactions with other rules. It has turned out that Anterior Palatalization is cyclic since it applies before rules which are cyclic (eg. before Lower, cf. Rubach 1981). The cyclic status of Ant. Pal. is thus a natural consequence of the ordering principles given in (ii) and (iii) above.

Being cyclic, Ant. Pal. applies to the data in (10) but does not apply to the examples given in (11), where the palatals appear morpheme-internally. Consequently, the underlying representations of these words are the same as their phonetic representations: *cich+y* 'silent' is //tɕix+ɨ//, *dzik+o* 'wildly' is //dʑik+o//, etc.

We now have answered the question of why /ti di si/ in *teach, deem, seem* are not mispronounced by Poles as [tɕi dʑi ɕi]. Both the obstruent and the front vowel are inside the same morpheme and hence cyclic Ant. Pal., which is a potential source of interference here, cannot apply. What we have not answered is the question of why /ni/ is rendered as /ɲi/ in *university, need,* etc. However, one thing is clear: [ɲi] cannot be due to the operation of Ant. Pal. since being cyclic the rule is not allowed to apply morpheme internally. The source of this mistake must be sought somewhere else in the structure of the Polish grammar. Indeed, this conclusion is correct.

Polish has a rule of Nasal Palatal Assimilation which assimilates /n/ to /ɲ/ before /ɲ/ e.g. *fontann+a* 'fountain' - *fontann+ie* (dat.), *sen+n+y* 'sleepy' - *sen+n+ik* 'dream-book', etc. The derivation of *fontann+ie* 'fountain' (dat.) proceeds as follows:

(12) //fontann+e//

| | |
|---|---|
| fontanɲ+e | Ant. Pal. (9) |
| fontaɲɲ+e | Nasal Palatal Assimilation |

Stated formally, Nasal Palatal Assimilation has the form given in (13):

(13) Nas. Pal. Assim. $$\begin{bmatrix}\text{+nas}\\ \text{+coron}\\ \text{+anter}\end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow \begin{bmatrix}\text{+high}\\ \text{+anter}\end{bmatrix} \;/\; \text{—} \begin{bmatrix}\text{+high}\\ \text{+sonor}\\ \text{-back}\end{bmatrix}$$

The environment of rule (13) describes /ɲ/, which is a prepalatal nasal (the features [+high] and [-back] denote palatality). Notice, however, that the formal statement of the environment automatically includes /i/ and /j/ since these are also high nonback sonorants. Thus, Nas. Pal. Assim. applies not only before /ɲ/ but also before /i j/. This prediction follows from the formalization of the rule. To complete the information about Nas. Pal. Assim. we should add that the rule is postcyclic. This again is the consequence of the principles of cyclic phonology as Nas. Pal. Assim. must apply after rules which are postcyclic (eg. after Yer Deletion,[7] cf. Rubach 1981). Being postcyclic Nas. Pal. Assim. can apply morpheme internally.

Let us note in passing that the status of Nas. Pal. Assim. as a postcyclic rule and the status of Ant. Pal. as a cyclic rule are both confirmed by the assimilation of borrowings into Polish. The loan words which have /ni/ are pronounced with [ɲi] while the loans which have /ti di si/ remain unchanged:

(14) (a) trening 'training', Nil 'Nile', Nicea 'Nice';

(b) tik 'twitch', dinosaur 'dinosaur', sinologia 'Sinology', etc.

The discovery of Nas. Pal. Assim. as a rule of Polish makes it clear that [ɲi] is an entirely predictable structure. Consequently, it is always derived from //ni//. We thus arrive at a distinction between /ti di si/ on the one hand, and /ni/ on the other. The former function as the source of [tɕi dʑi ɕi] only at morpheme boundaries (the palatals are derived by Ant. Pal.). All morpheme internal [tɕi dʑi ɕi] are not conceived as derivable. However, [ɲi] may also come from Nas. Pal. Assim. which being postcyclic predicts the occurrence of [ɲi] also in morpheme internal position.

---

[7] The same is true of Devoicing (8), which must therefore be a postcyclic rule. Yer Deletion is the rule which deletes e's in the right hand side forms of the words in (7a). It feeds Devoicing.

Consequently, *nigdy* 'never' quoted in (11) has the underlying representation //nigdɨ// rather than //ɲigdɨ//.

When faced with English words containing /ni/, Poles subconsciously treat them as inputs to Nas. Pal. Assim. In consequence of this fact, [ɲi] is a result of interference in *university, need, morning*, etc. In this way cyclic phonology is able to overcome the difficulties which arise in the standard framework: a systematic distinction is drawn between /ti di si/ and /ni/, a distinction which could not be captured in an overpowerful *SPE* type of phonology.

## CONCLUSION

We have pointed out in this paper that generative phonology is able to preserve the insights of the classical phonemic framework where these have truly contributed to a better understanding of the theory of phonological interference. The predictions which follow from the structure of the phonemic inventory can be made with comparable success by looking at the structure of underlying segments. Phonotactic constraints are expressed in very much the same way in both theories. In generative phonology they are treated as conditions on the structure of morphemes at the underlying level.

The phonemic framework turns out to be not powerful enough to predict certain regular alternations which are phonemic in nature. It is often the case that such alternations are relevant to explaining some facts of phonological interference. The generalizations required by these facts are captured successfully by the theory of generative phonology, which has contributed to our understanding of interference processes by introducing the notion of a generative rule. Phonological rules are not limited to surface generalizations such as the distribution of allophones. They express regularities also at a more abstract level. Capturing these regularities turns out to be necessary in order to predict how interference processes will proceed.

The standard model of generative phonology is too powerful. It is not able to make some distinctions which are relevant to the theory of phonological interference. These distinctions can easily be drawn in the cyclic model of generative phonology. This model includes the predictions made by the standard theory but, in addition, it is able to overcome the difficulties which arise in the standard model. Consequently, it is cyclic phonology which is the proper framework in which to carry out research, regardless of whether it is oriented theoretically or whether it is supposed to have the more practical bias of applied contrastive linguistics.

Finally we wish to draw attention to the fact that phonological interference calls for an elaborate study in a number of theoretical issues which have not been considered in this paper. In particular, it remains an open question which types of rule may cause interference. Our analysis seems to point to the conclusion that it is postcyclic rules which engage in negative transfer. This certainly is the case with the rules considered in this paper: interference follows from Devoicing and Nasal Palatal Assimilation, both of which are postcyclic. Cyclic Anterior Palatalization is exempted from the class of interfering rules.

Further, it is unclear to what extent rule interaction is relevant to the theory of phonological interference. One may also wonder whether the structure of the underlying inventory is not too abstract to permit making all the correct generalizations about the perception of the target language.

Some of the issues just raised have in part been studied in two other papers (Rubach in press (a) and (b) ), others await further research.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chomsky, N. and M. Halle 1968. *The sound pattern of English*. New York: Harper and Row.

Eliasson, S. 1978. Theoretical problems in Scandinavian contrastive phonology, in J. Weinstock (ed.), *The Nordic languages and modern linguistics* 3, Austin: The University of Texas at Austin, 217-243.

Fisiak, J. 1973. *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 1. Poznan: Adam Mickiewicz University Press.

Gussmann, E. 1978. *Contrastive Polish-English consonantal phonology*. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.

Halle, M. 1978. Formal vs. functional considerations in phonology. Indiana University Linguistics Club.

Mascaró, J. 1976. *Catalan phonology and the phonological cycle*. MIT diss. distributed by Indiana University Linguistics Club.

Rubach, J. 1981. *Cyclic phonology and palatalization in Polish and English*. Rozprawy Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 219. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.

Rubach, J. (in press a). Rule Typology and Phonological Interference. To appear in S. Eliasson (ed.), *Theoretical developments in contrastive phonology*. Stuttgart: Julius Groos Verlag.

Rubach, J. (in press b). Rule Ordering in Phonological Interference. To appear in J. Fisiak (ed.), *Contrastive linguistics: prospects and problems*. The Hague: Mouton.

Weinreich, U. 1953. *Languages in contact*. Reprint (1964). The Hague: Mouton.

# SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CONTRASTIVE PRAGMATICS
or
# IN SEARCH OF A COGNITIVE CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION (CCASI)

Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk
*University of Łódź*

This paper consists of three parts. First I will mention some inadequacies of current theories of meaning that fail to account for problems essential for meaning interpretation. In the second part I will defend an alternative in the form of a cognitive model of social interaction as a more adequate and psychologically more real candidate for explaining semantic and pragmatic issues. Thirdly, I will point to the relevance of such a solution for contrastive analysis.

Currently there are four types of semantic theory in linguistics: theory of decomposition, semantic network theories, the meaning postulate theory of semantics, and mental models of meaning. Arguments have been offered by different authors to prove the inadequacy of these semantic theories, which are based on autonomous grounds, for handling different problems involving meaning analysis. Discussion of some weak points of the theories as expressed by Johnson-Laird (1978) will be briefly touched upon here.

A semantic theory of decomposition, which was first proposed by Katz and Fodor (1963) and developed by others (eg. Schank 1975 for Artificial Intelligence research) and which based on decomposing the meaning of the word into its semantic constituents and on combining meanings according to "selectional restrictions", is mainly criticized for its ad-hocness in assigning the selectional restrictions and for making erroneous predictions about sentences.

Numerous examples can be given here. One of them, discussed by Johnson-Laird, refers to the verb *lift*, which, assigned the following constraints on its subject: /HUMAN/ or /ANIMAL/ or /MACHINE/, fails to allow the derivation of:

(1) The wind lifted the leaves over the fence.
(2) The magnet lifted the pins.

(3) The sea lifted the flotsam over the jetty.
(4) The rope lifted the weight.
(5) Her little finger lifted the thimble.
(6) Hot air lifted the balloon.
(7) The root lifted the earth.

Fodor et al. (1975) conducted a number of experiments to check up the comprehension of sentences with such pairs of apparently synonymous words as *bachelor - unmarried man*. One of the decompositional features of *bachelor* is /-MARRIED/; hence the phrase *unmarried man* should be more readily accessible for the language user, and thus the time for its comprehension should be shorter. This, however, was not the case. It can be questioned whether the results of such experiments are valid in refuting linguistic theories. Ascribing a description of product to that of capacity may be considered a psycholinguistic fallacy (cf. Chesterman 1980). It seems, however, that any system aiming at meaning analysis cannot, by definition, describe the surface product alone. To achieve some degree of adequacy, it has to deal with the cognitive faculty of man. Furthermore, "issues in semantics that have no conceivable application to the process of comprehension cannot be very important for semantic theory", as Fillmore (1974) puts it.

Another area which has been criticized in the decompositional theory of meaning concerns the depth of decomposition. Processes and rules leading to the level of semantic primitives cannot be assigned unique criteria.

Next problem for discussion relates to the inferential level of meaning. Inferences dependent on meanings of words do not have to be identical to those of their constituents (eg. *cause-to-die* vs. *kill*); the theory, however, provides no formal apparatus for such a differentiation.

Semantic network theories (Quillian 1968, Simmons and Slocum 1972) treat the lexicon as a network of lexical items which are connected by inferential links. The interpretation of a sentence means setting up a network with pointers to the appropriate nodes of semantic memory. The most serious criticism of semantic network theories (Woods 1975) refers to the lack of consistent criteria for establishing the inferential links and the absence of the possibility of distinguishing between the intension and extension of some expressions. In mode-theoretic semantics an intension of an expression is a function of the possible worlds to an extension. The intesion yields a truth value for a sentence and a referent for a referring phrase.

Meaning postulates in semantics, which were first introduced by Carnap (1956) into a model-theoretical semantics of a formal language to account for analytical truths based on the meanings of words, were refined by Bar-Hillel (1963) and incorporated into a new psychologically oriented theory of meaning (Kintsch 1974). One of the important properties of meanings postulates is that they allow for relating logical entailments of one concept to others, recognized by the language user as symmetrical in meaning, eg. the relation between *sell* and *buy*. Each word is expected to have a corresponding word concept expressed in a mental language (Fodor et al. 1975). This 'mentalese' stands in a one-to-one correspondence to the vocabulary of natural language. The theory distinguishes between the initial comprehension of the sentence and a later stage associated with the comprehension of all inferential links.

The argument for semantic representation consisting of (1) a knowledge of truth conditions and (2) a theory of possible worlds breaks down as a result of (1) mistaking the redundance theory of truth for a theory of meaning or linguistic convention and of (2) what Harman (1977:11) calls a "bizarre metaphysical view" concerning the possible world hypothesis.

What all the three types of semantic theory mentioned above have in common is that they assume that the meaning of the sentence can be established independently of referential matters. They are based on the 'autonomy' of semantics. That is the reason why the entailments of sentences containing relational expresions such as *in front of*, *on the right of*, *at*, *near*, etc., whose degrees of transitivity and rediprocity are established by contextual parameters, cannot be handled at all in such theories.

Also, none of the well-known pragmatic problems such as the ones below can be properly accounted for in such models: meaning asymmetry of sentences containing exlicit performatives and those in which the performative verb occurs only in the abstract structure of the sentence, hedges (also tags), which protect the speaker from the consequences of his speech act, coherent but not necessarily cohesive responses. All the cases of the speaker choosing a roundabout way of saying what he means, including joking, sarcasm and irony, etc., are not considered in the theories which assume that meaning is autonomous and independent of the context. A few years ago (cf. R. Lakoff 1972, 1973) a certain scepticism was felt as to the possibility of a formal description of the relationship between the intended meaning and the surface structure. Even now, when the speech act theory and the search for universal postulates are in their full bloom in pragmatics, a linguistic theory sophisticated enough to relate form to meaning directly or indirectly conveyed, is far from being complete.

The research in this field sometimes seemed misdirected by the rigorous requirements set for the ideal speaker-hearer (Chomsky 1965), who was reigning supreme a few years ago. Naturally some idealization of data is inevitable in any research, no matter whether we are dealing with microlinguistics or anyone of the macrolinguistic domains. The adoption of Lyons's three-scale hierarchy of idealization (Lyons 1968: 586-591) implies that while in order to account for some problems mentioned above we can discount slips of the tongue, mispronunciations, etc. and accept a sort of regularization practice, idiosyncracies and regular differencies in the language systems of the participants of verbal interaction attributable to such factors as age, sex, social status, etc. as well as those that disclose their psychological states, needs and affections are highly relevant for us to fully understand the way in which language is generated and analysed.

Idealization of the third kind, which is referred to as decontextualization, has been discussed before. It should be stressed again though, that although it has been so strongly advocated (Chomsky 1965, 1980), it has a limited use even within microlinguistics. Idealization of this type is acceptable exclusively when it is treated not as a *condition* of linguistic analysis but as a generalized core *conclusion* of the research.

In his Government and Binding lectures (1980:8) Chomsky assumes the following:

> ...it is hardly to be expected that what are called "languages" or "dialects" or even "idiolects" will conform precisely or perhaps even very closely to the system determined by fixing the parameters of UG (Universal Grammar). This could only happen under idealized conditions that are never realized in the real world of heterogeneous speech communities.
>
> ...For such reasons as those, it is reasonable to suppose that UG determines a set of core grammars and that what is actually represented in the mind of an individual even uder the idealization to a homogenous speech community would be a core grammar

> with a periphery of marked elements and contstructions.
>
> Viewed against the reality of what a particular person may have inside his head, core grammar is an idealization. From another point of view, what a particular person has inside his head is an artifact resulting from the interplay of many idiosyncratic factors, as contrasted with the more significant reality of UG (an element of shared biological endowment) and core grammar (one of the systems derived by fixing the parameters of UG) in one of the permitted ways.
>
> We would expect the individually represented artifact to depart from core grammar in two basic respects: (1) because of the heterogeneous character of actual experience in real speech communities; (2) because of the distinction between core and periphery. The two aspects are related but distinguishable. Putting aside the first factor - ie. assuming the idealization to a homogenous speech community - outside the domain of core grammar we do not expect to find chaos.

What Chomsky is actually saying refers to Universal Grammar and core grammars as the only significant linguistic reality. Although UG, core grammars, and their peripheries are claimed to be distinguishable, establishing the boundaries between universal and core grammars, between core grammars and ordered peripheries and, finally, between ordered and idiosyncratic peripheries requires a wide-scale and deep study of language in context with all its "insignificant" peripheries and heterogeneity. To prove that a distinction between UG, core and peripheries is a linguistic reality and, furthermore, that it is a matter of a discrete, and not a fuzzy, class membership requires putting languages into, and examining it in, a wide context of "objective" reality and the knowledge of this reality as represented in the language user's mind. Only then, after we have learned that what is specified in the language itself can be uniquely separated from intelligent inferences made by the language user, can we talk of demarcating the distinction between UG, core grammars and their peripheries.

In fact, Chomsky makes a certain concession to the context in his theory (1980), introducing the rules of construal (binding, case, control) and O-principle, which, dealing with anaphors, pronouns, antecedents and thematic roles, have to cross the sentence boundary. Nevertheless, he is not interested in crossing the other boundaries of idealization of data.

All the relational problems and pragmatic issues mentioned at the beginning of the paper can be explained only by means of a cognitive analysis of social interaction.

Some mental models of cognitively oriented semantics have been proposed in linguistic literature (eg. Johnson-Laird 1978). The mental representation of a sentence in such approaches takes the form of an internal model of the state of affairs characterized by the sentence, whose values are checked up by a number of procedures. The model reflects the properties of the situation, from which the logical characteristics such as irreflexivity, asymmetry, varying degrees of transitivity of the expressions are obtained. Such models are mainly directed towards the cognitive analysis of language, ie. the process of comprehension. Furthermore, they do not view the speaker in relation to other participants of the verbal interaction in the heterogenenity of their speech communities.

For all the reasons discussed above, I believe that it is only a cognitive model of social interaction, integrating social and psychological parameters with the access to the knowledge of the universe and the grammar of language as well as to other semiotic codes, that can make it possible to incorporate and account for all the complex issues concerning language production and language comprehension. Moreover, psychological states and needs of the participants in an interactional situation, their knowledge of the outside world including their relevant knowledge of the psycho- and sociological context of the interactional situation are different in different communities. Since the realization of such needs in all verbal and non-verbal codes also displays a variety of patterns, an integrational model of this type can provide an appropriate framework for cognitive contrastive analysis of social interaction (CCASI).

One such proposal of an integrated model on the basis of a systemic functional grammar has been put forward by Fawcett (1980). The overall framework and some assumptions of his theory with a few modifications will be expounded here to examine its validity for CCASI.

There are three parameters in the model of a communicating mind: the psychological and physical needs of the speaker, his affective states, and the knowledge of the outside world including the recognition of the state and status of the interlocutor. In the process of communication there is a constant exchange of information, based on a presupposed pool of certain facts accepted by both sides for granted, and negotiations over the interpretation of others. The dynamic estimate of the state of affairs of the context, together with the needs of the speaker and his affective states as well as the monitoring factor, shape a system of procedures leading to decision-taking in selecting forms of discourse organization, forms of verbal expression as well as other semiotic codes and some forms of non-communicative behaviour (see Figure 1). All uncontrolled verbal and non-verbal behaviour (slips of the tongue, bodily movements, etc.) escape the monitor control.

In speech production, the element of audiomonitoring, ie. language awareness and attention (not considered in Fawcett's model) is connected with the speaker's state of mind, his performance capacity, the problem solver, etc. (Sajavaara 1982). People monitor their own and other people's speech in their native tongue and foreign languages, as well as their behaviour. For this reason, this factor plays an important role in the process of learning, language acquisition and communication. In the context of this paper, however, it is not possible to pursue this issue any further in more detail.

Prior to the act of communication, concepts can bear only prototypical, definitional features (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 1982). During the act of perception, more specific properties are subjectively perceived and their values filled in. In verbal interaction, concepts which, as the interlocutors feel, need no further specification are left in their prototypical form. Those, however, whose meanings seem either unclear to conduct exchange satisfactorily, or vary from one participant to another are negotiated and the values of their properties are marked

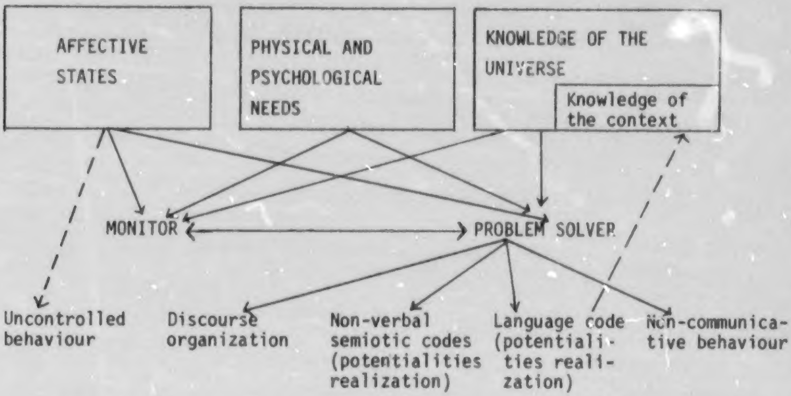

AFFECTIVE STATES
PHYSICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL NEEDS
KNOWLEDGE OF THE UNIVERSE
Knowledge of the context
MONITOR
PROBLEM SOLVER
Uncontrolled behaviour
Discourse organization
Non-verbal semiotic codes (potentialities realization)
Language code (potentialities realization)
Non-communicative behaviour

Figure 1. Main parameters and components of the communicating mind.

in the course of interaction. Concepts as units referring to objects, their states and relationships give structure to the outside world. Each concept can be, in theory, named in language, but it is that languages differ. Certain concepts go unnamed, some others exhibit different combinations of properties under similar labels in languages. The message that the speaker wants to convey is first analysed by him into meanings by means of a number of parameters. Then they are synthesised and organized into a coherent utterance according to linguistic and discourse organizational rules of his language. The lack of a one-to-one correspondence between concepts and units sets constraints on the transfer of the message, which, under such conditions, can only be hinted at and not fully explicated (cf. Gold 1980).

The cognitive model of concept formation (cf. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 1982) aims at incorporating both the constant values of their meaning as well as the variable ones (especially evident in fuzzy sets, hedging expressions, etc.) into their conceptual frames. A prototype can be represented as a structure of nodes connected with one another as a network system. Some (higher) nodes represent partial but "constant" knowledge and others are filled with variable "default" assignments, which are loosely attached to the nodes, so that new information can be added or some changes incorporated (cf. Minsky 1975). Each node has a potential connection pointer to other collections of nodes and their sets (frames), with a characteristic feature specification for each concept to guarantee the openness of the system. A certain number of conceptual configurations reflecting the planes of contents and form in such frame systems of different individuals exhibits a close similarity on the higher level, ie. the level of the nodes of "constant" knowledge, referring to some "objective" facts of the outside world and the area of possible linguistic universals. Although hypotheses of the above type are subject to an extensive experimental study in psychology and psycholinguistics, they seem to deserve a deeper contrastive analysis to help the comprehension of all the complex matters of contrastive pragmatics.

The model contains sets of relational rules mapping conceptual frames onto linguistic structures. Besides prototypical frames, open for default values assignment, there are stereotypical sets with premarked default values. Processes of encoding and decoding the message involve a continual selection from the pool of concepts and available linguistic resources. The range of items accessible to selection reflects the intellectual equipment of the individual as well as all the aforementioned socio-cultural parameters. The addressee comprehends the message by means of linguistic and conceptual identification; at the same time, however, an array of connected (associative) node configurations (frame sets) is activated that are unique to the addressee, frequently not intended or even not shared by the speaker.

The above factors condition the decisions taken by the problem solver, which, among others, dictates the organization of discourse. Discourse then is not an extension of the S to a higher level, but is a semiotic-hierarchically structured act (transactions, exchange, moves and acts - Sinclair and Coulthard 1975), which is connected with all the parameters that affect the linguistic and other semiotic options.

Communication is initiated in order to achieve some goal: either pragmatic - (1) informative *I want to tell you something*, (2) heuristic *I want you to tell me something*, or (3) control *I want you to do something*, or the relationship purpose (1) more status distinction (more dominance or more deference), (2) maintain status distinction, or (3) more solidarity. Warning, threats, suggestions, etc. having their source in pragmatic and relationship functions may result in one of the semantic options of the illocutionary force of expressions in the linguistic code.

All the pragmatic relationships resulting from the communicative situation affect the straightness of communication (see Figure 2).

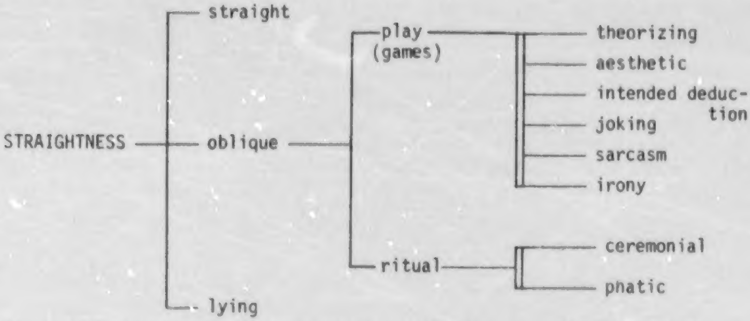


Figure 2. Straightness in communication (cf. Fawcett 1980:75-78). The double vertical line indicates that the options shown are cutoff points on a continuum, or cline.

Oblique options involving the re-entering of the pragmatic and relationship components for a second time originate different indirectly conveyed meanings. This is also where allegory, metaphors, and other rhetorical devices enter. Vulgarisms and obscenities on the other hand may be either a realization of one of the oblique or straight ways of communication. Part of the knowledge of the universe component is the awareness of the effects of such devices on the interlocutor(s); it is the task of the problem solver then, controlled by the monitor, to decide which of them should be used in a given situation.

Such choices are next supported by register options (tenor etc.) and finally enter the interactional component in semantics, where they are matched with the language-specific semantico-grammatical potential. Next options in the generation of an utterance refer to alternative channels and codes of communication. The choice of a specific verbal code (Polish, English, etc.) provides a material to reflections on the role of the language selection in shaping the human conceptual system, which is expressed in Figure 1 as a link between the language code and the knowledge of the universe components. The whole issue pertains to the old problem of the Whorfian relativity hypothesis concerning the extent to which the language we use predetermines our conceptual system. The Whorfian thesis lost part of its attractiveness with Chomsky's language acquisition theories and the claims for universality of his grammars. In fact, however, the evaluation of the hypothesis has to be suspended, since a number of experimental findings (eg. Clarke et al. 1981) indicate that the categorization of concepts and objects as performed by speakers of different languages is influenced by grammatical categories present in those languages. Even if we accept a weaker version of the hypothesis, ie. not a causal view of language and thought, which is rather simplistically ascribed to Whorf by Carroll (Whorf 1956), but the one that views reality as essentially a subjective understanding of perceptual stimuli, the question as to what extent the cognitive constructs that evolve out of a contact of two or more verbal codes, which are expressions of different conceptual systems, differ from the constituent ones should be a subject matter of a more extensive contrastive analysis of pragmatic and experimental nature.

One such example of a claim that requires a verification on contrastive grounds concerns such culture and language bound notions as *love, freedom, solidarity,* whose comprehension, as has recently been assumed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), is determined entirely in terms of metaphors.

The next point I want to raise here is the appropriateness of different grammars for CCASI. Such proposals that concentrate on standardised decontextualised data with a unifunctional type of semantics associated with them are not the best candidates. More appropriate for such descriptions are all variants of functional and systemic grammars with their plurifunctional components that involve different types of meaning, not only the "classical" experimential one, but also metalingual, thematic, interactional, affective, etc. Also types of stratificational grammar are potentially more adequate to account for such heterogeneous phenomena.

It might also be interesting to try and formulate the main assumptions of CCASI in terms of an axiomatic theory (cf. Lieb 1980), where problems of linguistic data as opposed to nonlinguistic, generality vs. concreteness and particularity, as well as the questions of a metalanguage for CA models are solved by four different possibilities: theory presupposition, formulation in-terms-of, conflation, and extension or co-extension. This, however, is a point for a separate study.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Austin, J.L. 1962. *How to do things with words*. London: O.U.P.

Bar-Hillel, Y. 1963. Can indexical sentences stand in logical relations? *Philosophical Studies* 14, 87-90.

Carnap, R. 1956. *Meaning and necessity: a study in semantics and modal logic*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

Chesterman, A. 1980. Contrastive generative grammar and the psycholinguistic fallacy, *PSiCL* 11, 17-24.

Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the theory of syntax*. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press.

Chomsky, N. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*, Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Clarke, M., A. Losoff, M. Dickenson McCracken and J. Still 1981. Gender Perception in Arabic and English, *Language Learning* 1, 159-169.

Fawcett, R.P. 1980. *Cognitive linguistics and social interaction.* Heidelberg: Groos.

Fillmore, C.J. 1974. The future of semantics, in C.J. Fillmore, G. Lakoff, and R. Lakoff (eds.), *Berkeley Studies in Syntax and Semantics* I, IV, 1-38.

Fodor, J.D., J.A. Fodor and M.F. Garrett 1975. The psychological unreality of semantic representations, *Linguistic Inquiry* 4, 515-531.

Gold, D.L. 1980. The dictionary and the lexical structures, *Babel* 3, 152-160.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1973. *Explorations in the functions of language.* London: Edward Arnold.

Harman, G. 1977. Against universal semantic representation, in A. Rogers, B. Wall, and J.P. Murphy (eds.), *Proceedings of the Texas Conference on Performatives, Presuppositions and Implicatures*, Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Jakobson, R. 1963. *Essais de linguistique générale*. Paris: Editions de Minuit.

Johnson-Laird, P.N. 1978. Mental Models of Meaning. Paper presented to Sloan Workshop on Computational Aspects of Linguistic Structure and Discourse Setting. University of Pennsylvania, May 24-27, 1978. Mimeo.

Katz, J.J. and J.A. Fodor 1963. The structure of a semantic theory, *Language* 39, 170-210.

Kintsch, W. 1974. *The representation of meaning in memory.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum.

Lamb, S.M. 1966. *An Outline of Stratificational Grammar*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Lakoff, G. 1975. Hedges: A Study in Meaning Criteria and the Logic of Fuzzy Concepts, in D. Hockney et al. (eds.), *Contemporary Research in Philosophical Logic and Linguistic Semantics*, Dordrecht: D. Reidel.

Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Lakoff, R. 1972. Language in context, *Language* 48, 907-27.

Lakoff, R. 1973. The language of politeness, in *Papers from the Ninth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, Chicago: Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago, 292-305.

Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, B. 1982. Convention and Creativity in natural language (in press).

Lieb, H.H. 1980. Integrational linguistics as a basis for contrastive studies, *PSiCL* 12, 5-36.

Lyons, J. 1968. *Introduction to theoretical linguistics*. London: O.U.P.

Minsky, M. 1975. Frame system theory, in R. Schank and Mash-Webber (eds.), *Theoretical issues in natural language processing*, Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary Workshop in Computational Linguistics, Psychology, Linguistics Artificial Intelligence. Cambridge, Mass.

Quillian, M.R. 1968. Semantic memory, in M. Minsky (ed.), *Semantic information processing*, Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press.

Sajavaara, K. 1982. The Monitor Model and contrastive analysis, *PSiCL* 14, 145-156.

Schank, R.C. 1975. *Conceptual information processing*. Amsterdam: North Holland.

Simmons, R. and J. Slocum 1972. Generating English discourse from semantic networks, *Communications of the Association for Computing Machinery* 15, 891-905.

Sinclair, J. McH. and R.M. Coulthard 1975. *Towards an analysis of discourse*. London: O.U.P.

Whorf, B.L. 1956. *Language, thought and reality. Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, ed. by J.B. Carroll. New York: Wiley.

Woods, W.A. 1975. Syntax, semantics, and speech, in D. Raj Reddy (ed.), *Speech recognition*, New York: Academic Press.

# A TRANSLATION-BASED MODEL OF CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS

Vladimir Ivir
*University of Zagreb*

0. Contrastive analysis is a linguistic undertaking which consists of bringing together two linguistic systems, or their parts, and viewing them in a common perspective. The crucial questions that need to be answered if this definition is to be made operational are two: How are the systems, or subsystems, to be isolated for purposes of contrasting? What is the 'common perspective' in which the systems, once isolated, can be viewed? One assumption underlying all contrastive work - which will be taken for granted and not further discussed in this paper - is that pairs of languages can be compared; another is that for any comparison we need two elements that are to be compared, plus a third element in terms of which they are to be compared.

In the practice of contrastive analysis, the two questions have usually been treated as one problem - that of the basis on which contrasting is done, or of the *tertium comparationis*. This is generally recognized as the central problem of contrastive analysis and one on which both the format and the validity of contrastive analysis rest. It is the choice of the *tertium comparationis* that determines which linguistic units will be contrasted and which descriptive model will be adopted for contrastive analysis.

1. There are several possible candidates for the role of the *tertium comparationis*. The first is the surface linguistic form: in this case, particular elements of two languages are contrasted because they look or sound alike. Strictly speaking, examples of this type of *tertium comparationis* are found only on the phonological (eg., sounds produced at similar points of articulation and in a similar manner) and lexical levels (eg., internationalisms). Less strictly, formally similar structural patterns in pairs of languages are also contrasted (eg., Adjective + Noun, Copula + Adjective, Auxiliary + Present Participle, etc.).

This last group, involving surface configurations of formal elements, makes use of the second type of *tertium comparationis* - categories of the common metalanguage in terms of which both languages have been independently described. The first of the two subtypes of this type includes identical surface configurations in the two languages (as illustrated above); the second subtype includes categories that go under the same label in the descriptions of the two languages, regardless of the surface configurations in $L_1$ and $L_2$, the tacit assumption being that - since the metalinguistic framework is the same for both languages - the common label stands for something that is common to them both (eg., Passive, Article, Genitive, Present Tense, Adjective Comparison, Pronominalization, Modification, Reflexivisation, etc.).

The third possible type of *tertium comparationis* is provided by the independently described semantic system (presumably universal) with categories which are held constant while their realizations differ from language to language (eg., Definiteness, Possession, Iteration, Agent, Instrument, Measure, etc.).

It is not our task at this point to discuss the merits and demerits of each of these types and the relative worth of each for contrastive analysis at different levels (phonological, lexical, semantic), but rather to note that models of contrastive analysis working with any of the above types of *tertium comparationis* are not, in principle, dependent on translation. This is not to say that translation is not, or cannot be, used in contrastive work relying on the physical shape or sound of linguistic units or on metalinguistic or semantic categories, but simply to stress that contrasting thus conceived should be able to proceed without recourse to translation. In practice, of course, it does not, and all analysts rely on translation not only for exemplification but also for the establishment of the sameness of meaning or deep-structure identity. There is a good reason for this practice: despite their affirmed independence as third elements of comparison, the three types of *tertium comparationis* described above suffer from limitations that become obvious when they are applied in contrastive work. The first type is applicable only to visually or acoustically related linguistic items; the second type presupposes the same descriptive framework for both languages and the same degree of exhaustiveness in description (an ideal still unreached for any pair of languages); also, there is a certain circularity in claiming that paired elements of two languages are comparable because they are designated by the same label and attaching the same label to them in the first place because they are thought to have something in common; the third type presupposes the existence of a semantic framework, universal for at least the two languages to be contrasted, with clearly defined categories and fully listed membership of linguistic units in each of the categories for each language (again an ideal that does not promise to be reached very soon, certainly not via the dubious level of deep structure).

2. Translation helps to obviate the inherent difficulties of the metalinguistic and semantic *tertium comparationis* by providing pairs of translationally equivalent sentences as a convenient starting point for analysis: in sentences that are translational equivalents of each other, particular linguistic units are isolated and paired, and are then contrasted from the viewpoint of their structure (make-up) and function (meaning). This is how we in fact get contrastive topics such as Relative Clauses in $L_1$ and $L_2$, Modal Verbs in $L_1$ and $L_2$, Futurity in $L_1$ and $L_2$, etc., and not - as we are made to believe - by examining the place of, say, $L_1$ relative clauses in the system of $L_1$ and of $L_2$ relative clauses in the system of $L_2$ or the place of the category of futurity in the universal semantic system and its realizations in $L_1$ and $L_2$.

Since translation is not explicitly made part of the contrastive procedure, its implications cannot be questioned in this approach. There are two implications in particular which are important: one is that the sentences paired by the analyst are to be accepted as being translationally equivalent without specifying the notion of equivalence; the other is that equivalence is automatically taken as sameness of meaning. However, in the absence of objective criteria of equivalence in translation theory, agreement in judgements of equivalence is notoriously hard to achieve. And it can be shown that translation equivalence can be achieved without the sameness of meaning, just as identical meanings are no guarantee of translation equivalence (Bouton 1976). What this does to the contrastive model thus conceived is to seriously weaken, if not destroy, its intended methodological rigour. The *tertium comparationis* is not one of the metalinguistic or semantic categories as claimed but the inadequately defined translation equivalence. The choice is all the more crippling as the analyst, in an attempt to avoid the kinds of objections raised here, makes use of only those instances of translation equivalence which are also semantically identical. Consequently, his correspondences are one-to-one, and he thus misses many correspondences that the translated corpus might provide.

3. Translation and contrastive analysis are intimately linked, and it is claimed here that translation is unavoidable in contrastive work, just as the contrastive component is an indispensable element of translation theory and practice. In this way, translation is explicitly brought into contrastive analysis, but it is important also not to confuse the two disciplines. The respective concepts that need to be distinguished are contrastive correspondence and translation equivalence (cf. Ivir 1981). One is a linguistic concept involving meaning and the other a communicative concept involving sense. Following Coseriu (1981:184-185), meaning is seen as deriving from the set of oppositions into which units of a linguistic system enter and sense from the communicative functions that linguistically expressed meanings have in particular contexts of situation. Since the context of situation is different for each act of communication (and, in particular, different for the original speaker and the translator), it is clear that there can be no absolute equivalence, given in advance, which the translator would be expected to achieve; rather, equivalence is relative, dependent on the context of situation in which it is to be achieved, and is created anew in each act of communication. (Needless to say, it can only be evaluated in that act of communication, having no existence outside it.)

As for the relation between contrastive correspondence (defined as sameness of meaning) and translation equivalence (defined as sameness of sense), it is possible to imagine two extreme situations: in one, equivalence is achieved by keeping the meaning intact; in the other, the achievement of equivalence necessitates a total disregard of the meaning. Between these two extremes, varying degrees of departure from the original meaning are found in natural translation, caused by two main factors - differences between linguistic systems as regards their ability to express particular meanings and the translator's deliberate choice of the linguistically expressed meanings with which to achieve the desired communicative function (cf. Ivir, to appear).

4. Taking the view of translation just presented, we shall now examine how the contrastivist can make use of the products of natural translation in his analytical work. The first thing to remember is that the *tertium comparationis* that he seeks is provided by contrastive

correspondence, not translation equivalence. It is contrastive correspondence, a matter of *langue*, that holds elements of linguistic systems together, while translation equivalence, a matter of *parole*, holds together texts. However, just as in all linguistic work the analyst begins with *parole* and tries to reach *langue* (ie., a description that will account for the principles on which the practice of *parole* is built), so also in contrastive linguistic work the analyst begins with a corpus of original texts and their translations and tries to reach the contrastive correspondents contained in the two texts as realizations of their respective linguistic systems. (The analysis of the contrastive correspondents yields contrastive descriptions which account for the linguistic - in the narrow sense, excluding psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic, and more generally pragmatic - aspects of translation.)

Since translation equivalence, as noted above, is not a matter of linguistically expressed meanings alone but also of their communicative functions, and since these are related to *parole*, not *langue*, and are thus not systematic in the same way in which the expression of meanings as a set of oppositions among the linguistic units of a language is systematic, the analyst must find a way of isolating - from the translationally equivalent texts - the correspondences which hold together particular linguistic units in $L_1$ and $L_2$. He does this in two steps - first establishing the linguistic units in the texts $T_1$ and $T_2$ which are held together by translation equivalence and then eliminating those that are due to communicatively dictated semantic shifts. The elimination is done by means of back translation (cf. Spalatin 1967), which, unlike normal translation, is semantically bound.

The analysis begins with the pairing of an original text and its translation and the search for linguistically expressed meanings in $T_2$ which correspond to particular linguistically expressed meanings in $T_1$. The search reveals that for some $L_1$ units found in $T_1$ there are $L_2$ units in $T_2$ expressing the same meanings; for others, there are $L_2$ units in $T_2$ expressing different meanings; and for still others, nothing can be found in $T_2$ to correspond to particular linguistic units present in $T_1$. Finally, $L_2$ units are found in $T_2$ which do not correspond to anything in $T_1$. The failure of $T_1$ and $T_2$ to match $L_1$ and $L_2$ units expressing the same meaning is the result of the obligatory or deliberate semantic shifts in translation.

These textual correspondences are then subjected to the process of back translation to determine whether they are also contrastive correspondences. This involves translating $L_2$ units found in $T_2$ back into $L_1$ while keeping the meaning they have in $T_2$ intact. When this operation produces the same units in $L_1$ that were originally present in $T_1$, we have a (rather uninteresting) case of contrastive correspondents which are perfectly matched. More interestingly, however, back translation may produce units in $L_1$ different from those originally present in $T_1$, thus indicating that a semantic shift has taken place in translation. At this point the analyst begins to ask questions about the translator's conscious or unconscious motives for departing from the semantics of the original. It is possible that the departure was forced upon him by the absence in the $L_2$ expressive repertory of an element that would convey the same meaning that $L_1$ expresses naturally and - more significantly - the presence of an element in $L_2$ which that language uses naturally when called upon to express that meaning. However, since the set of oppositions into which this particular $L_2$ unit enters in $L_2$ is not the same as the set of oppositions into which the corresponding $L_1$ unit enters in $L_1$, the meaning cannot be the same either. As this is the meaning which the repertory of formal elements of $L_2$ makes available to its users when wishing to express the meaning expressed by $L_1$, the semantic shift is an automatic consequence of the difference between the two languages, and the $L_1$ and $L_2$ elements are contrastive correspondents. Another possibility is that the departure from the original meaning was motivated by considerations other than the availability (or rather, non-availability) of formal elements in $L_2$ to express the meaning expressed by $L_1$: in this case, the system of $L_2$ offers its users the means of expressing the same meaning as that expressed by $L_1$ in $T_1$, but the translator chooses to ignore that possibility and for some communicative reasons opts for an element in $L_2$ which expresses a different meaning while, in his opinion, ensuring translational equivalence. In this case, the semantic shift is due not to differences between the two linguistic systems but to the different contexts of situation in which communication takes place, and the $L_1$ and $L_2$ elements in question are not contrastive correspondents.

5. The establishment of contrastive correspondence as described here has distinct repercussions for the design of the model of contrastive analysis based on translation. The first repercussion has to do with directionality. In this approach, viewing directionality as a methodological and procedural problem rather than a psychological and language-

learning problem (for which see James 1981), contrastive analysis is neither bidirectional nor adirectional, but unidirectional. And the direction is from $L_1$ to $L_2$ - from the language of the original text ($T_1$) to the language of the translated text ($T_2$). For each particular $L_1$ unit, all possible $L_2$ contrastive correspondents are isolated from a translated corpus and the $L_1$ unit is then contrasted with each of its $L_2$ correspondents in turn to determine the extent of overlap and of difference.

It is important to note that the relationship between an $L_1$ unit and its $L_2$ correspondents is not one-to-one but one-to-many, with each $L_2$ correspondent matching a particular segment of the meaning of the $L_1$ unit but also introducing other meanings which the $L_2$ units has in the set of oppositions in that language. When, for instance, an $L_1$ Passive is found to have Passive, Active and Reflexive as its contrastive correspondents in $L_2$ (the situation which obtains for English and Serbo-Croatian), each correspondent matches one particular semantic function of the $L_1$ Passive and also brings in other meanings which are part of its semantic make-up in $L_2$.

Contrasting in fact means analyzing which $L_2$ correspondents match particular semantic functions of an $L_1$ unit of form and what is the "semantic price" of such matching. It is determined by comparing the set of oppositions into which the $L_1$ unit and its particular $L_2$ correspondent enter in their respective languages. No particular linguistic model is presupposed by this model of contrastive analysis, and the analyst is free to choose the descriptive approach which suits him best for a specific contrastive problem and even to vary his approach eclectically for different topics in a larger contrastive project. Equally, no definite degree of exhaustiveness (same for both languages) is presupposed, nor is "total" description required, as the analyst makes use only of those parts of the descriptive statement of $L_1$ and $L_2$ which are contrastively relevant.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bouton, L.F. 1976. The problem of equivalence in contrastive analysis, *IRAL* 14, 143-163.

Coseriu, E. 1981. Kontrastive Linguistik und Übersetzung: ihr Verhältnis zueinander, in W. Kühlwein, G. Thome and W. Wilss (eds.), *Kontrastive Linguistik und Übersetzungswissenschaft*, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 183-199.

Ivir, V. 1981. Formal correspondence vs. translation equivalence revisited, *Poetics Today* 2, 51-59.

Ivir, V., to appear. Reasons for semantic shifts in translation. Paper read at the International Conference "Grundfragen der Übersetzungswissenschaft", Leipzig, 15-17 December 1981.

James, C. 1981. Directionality in contrastive analysis, in W. Kühlwein, C. Thome and W. Wilss (eds.), *Kontrastive Linguistik und Übersetzungswissenschaft*, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 127-134.

Spalatin, L. 1967. Contrastive methods, *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia* 23, 29-45.

# CONTRASTIVE PRAGMATICS AND THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNER'S PERSONALITY

William T. Littlewood
*University College of Swansea*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

One reason why foreign language teaching keeps so many people in employment (not only in classrooms, but also as methodologists and theorists in various fields) is that, as we devise more and more techniques for dealing with the problems we encounter, we also discover that language learning is more complex than we had thought. This means that new problem areas emerge for us to try to understand and solve.

Thus, not long ago, it looked as if we could overcome the basic learning problem by devising techniques for forming habits. Dialogues and pattern drills seemed the ideal solution. Then it became clear again that we could not neglect the cognitive dimension of language learning: we must also ensure that the learner internalises the underlying system of rules. We then realised that even if we found a foolproof way of getting people to acquire and operate this system, this would still not be enough, because they also need to know the rules and conventions for *using* the system. To use two examples mentioned by Jenny Thomas in her paper at this conference: they have to learn that 'We must get together sometime' can be used as a polite formula for taking leave from somebody, as well as a statement of firm intention; or that if they wish to ask for directions in the street, 'Tell me please the way to...' is not the most appropriate way of doing so in English. Nor does the problem end there. The learner is faced with other dimensions of communicative performance which go beyond a knowledge of structure, such as the conventions for managing conversations. Indeed, there seem to be so many facets of communicative ability that the task of teaching it can appear to take on monumental proportions. Small wonder that we derive such hope from those researchers who assure us that it will develop through natural processes, once we learn how to structure the classroom environment properly.

## 2. SOME RECENT STUDIES

Some recent contrastive studies have highlighted clearly some of the problems that learners face in the domain of communicative performance. They have shown how different speech communities prefer different strategies for 'doing things' with language. They have also shown how these differences may lead learners to produce inappropriate speech behaviour because they transfer their mother-tongue conventions into their use of the foreign language. I will give a few examples from papers which have appeared recently, before discussing some of the problems which they raise for foreign language teaching.

### 2.1. CHOOSING WAYS OF PERFORMING SPEECH ACTS

At the level of the single speech act, Blum-Kulka (1982) has shown how Hebrew speakers are likely to use more direct ways of making requests than English speakers. For example, the conventional Hebrew way of asking directions in the street is the structural equivalent of 'Where is the...?', while the English speaker is more likely to use an indirect form such as 'Can you tell me the way to...?'. The English-speaking learner of Hebrew tends to be less direct than the native Hebrew speaker, in accordance with his or her mother-tongue conventions. Presumably an accumulation of such instances might make the speaker give an unintended impression of subservience or tentativeness. Conversely, if Hebrew-speaking learners of English transfer their mother-tongue norms into their English speech behaviour, they risk giving an impression of rudeness.

English-speaking learners of German, too, are likely to produce an unconventionally high degree of indirectness in their foreign language speech. This was illustrated during one of my own early visits to Germany. When the time came to pay the bill in a restaurant, I used the German structural equivalent of 'Can I pay, please?' (that is: 'Darf ich bitte zahlen?'). The waiter informed me that I should not sound as if I were asking him a favour but should be firmer and more authoritative, by saying 'Zahlen, bitte!'. Kasper (1979) and House and Kasper (1981) show how German learners of English may deviate from the conventions in similar ways, but in the opposite direction.

### 2.2. DECIDING WHETHER TO PERFORM A SPEECH ACT

Moving from different ways of expressing a speech act to the question of whether to express a speech act at all, Cohen and Olshtain (1981) have again reported differences between native speakers of Hebrew and English, this time in the domain of apologising. For example, in role-playing they found that Hebrew native speakers were less likely than English speakers to express apologies or to offer repair in certain situations, such as forgetting to take their sons out shopping. It is important to note, however, that there was still a 66% probability of these speech acts occurring in Hebrew (compared with 92% probability in English) in the situation mentioned. Over seven different situations, there is consistently more likelihood of an apology occurring in English native speech than in Hebrew native speech, but the Hebrew speakers are still more likely to apologise than *not* to apologise.

As a further example, Loveday (1982) argues that Japanese speakers are less inclined than English speakers to express open disagreement. The result can be that their conversation seems dull and over-polite when they use English with westeners. The Japanese speaker of English is also likely to transfer ceremonial formulae for apologies or thanks, creating a similar impression. Conversely, of course, the English native speaker may appear brusk and impolite to the Japanese.

## 2.3. CONVERSATIONAL STRATEGIES

House-Edmondson (1981) has studied how German and English speakers employ 'conversational strategies' in order to gain their conversational goals. For example, if a person wants to borrow gramophone records, he or she may support the request with strategic moves such as:

(a) 'Sweeteners', which remove potential objections to the request (eg. 'I'll take good care of them').

(b) 'Disarmers', which anticipate possible complaints (eg. 'I hate asking you of all people, 'cos I know how careful you are with your records, but...').

(c) 'Expanders', which provide the hearer with more detail about the matter than is strictly necessary.

House-Edmondson found that German and English speakers differ in their preferred strategies. Thus in the course of 48 role-plays based on everyday situations, 'disarmers' were used 24 times by English speakers but only 5 times by German speakers; 'sweeteners' were used 18 times in English and 13 times in German. On the other hand, German speakers made considerably more use than English speakers of 'expanders' (34 occurrences compared with 6).

## 3. SOME PROBLEMS FOR FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

As we saw in the previous section, there is good evidence about how speakers of different languages prefer different strategies for performing speech acts, for choosing which speech acts are appropriate in specific situations, and for achieving their interactional goals. There is equally good evidence that learners often transfer their native-language preferences to their foreign-language performance. We might conclude, then, together with some other writers, that this indicates a further dimension of communicative competence that needs to be taught. However, there are two main problem-areas which must first be considered.

## 3.1. NORMS AND INDIVIDUAL CHOICE

The studies described in the previous section show trends and preferences. However, there is clearly a wide range of permissible behaviour, even among native speakers. Within this range, individual speakers can make choices which reflect their own personality or behavioural style. In other words, we are not dealing with set patterns of behaviour which can be passed on as 'norms' to foreign language learners. If we did this, we would be denying learners the important freedom which native speakers possess: the freedom to adapt aspects of their communicative performance to express their own personality and behavioural style.

It is clearly impossible to define the borderline between choices which are due to language norms and choices which are due to personal factors. Language is closely bound up with personality at every level, and indeed, an individual's personality has been deeply influenced by the kinds of linguistic interaction that he or she has experienced. There is the further difficulty, as we shall see in section 4, that the term 'personality' can itself be interpreted in widely different ways, and the concept is variously taken to involve anything from deep internal traits to comparatively superficial behavioural preferences. However, a foreign language teacher has to reach some working definition of where the boundary of language teaching lies. In particular, at what point do patterns of language use cease to be part of a repertoire which learners should (if possible) be taught to incorporate into their own speech behaviour? At what point do they become reflections of an individuality which both native speakers and foreign learners should be left free to express?

Referring to an example mentioned earlier, I remember that it took some time before I could call out firmly 'Zahlen, bitte!' without a slight tense of unease at behaving in a way that was not my own. Yet this was a comparatively low-level choice between alternative speech-act realizations. The problem becomes more acute as higher levels of choice become involved: for example, when we consider whether to encourage Japanese learners of English to express disagreement more readily, German learners of English to use more 'disarmers', or English-speaking learners of Hebrew to be less profuse with their apologies.

A useful step towards forming decisions on these issues would be for researchers to gather more information not only on the most *frequently used* strategies of speakers of different languages, but also on the *range of variation* within which individuals can make choices without appearing (for example) offensive or subservient. We could then help learners to avoid those patterns of speech behaviour that might be detrimental to their personal relationships, without restricting too tightly their scope for expressing their own personality through their own preferred strategies. This point brings us onto the same theme of the next subsection.

### 3.2. LEARNERS' 'EXTERNAL' AND 'INTERNAL' NEEDS

The studies which we have been discussing bring us face to face, in an extreme form, with a problem which is already inherent in the currently popular 'communicative' approach to language teaching. This approach can be seen from two viewpoints which, so far, have not been properly reconciled.

On the other hand, a communicative approach can involve analysing what meanings the learners will need to express, and the language which will enable them to express these meanings appropriately. Language items are then specified as something external to the learner, which he should try to attain. Clearly, the studies described in the previous section could be seen as adding a further dimension to what learners must try to attain. We could simply add this dimension to the specification of objectives.

On the other hand, a communicative approach is concerned with the internal needs of the learner to relate to the language, integrate it with his own cognitive make-up, use it to express his own self, and so on. This requirement may work in direct conflict with the external specification of needs mentioned above. It means that, rather than imposing language which may seem alien to the learner and his psychological needs, we should try to ensure that he can identify with the language he uses and invest his own personality in it.

We are thus in a dilemma. On the other hand, as I mentioned, we are discovering new aspects of communicative ability which we could turn into teaching objectives. On the other hand, if we become overzealous in increasing the externally-specified body of language to be learnt, we may merely reduce the learner's chance of relating to the foreign language at a deeper level and using it as a vehicle for truly personal communication.

As a further consequence, we may increase the sense of threatened identity or alienation from the self that sometimes accompanies foreign language learning (cf. Brown 1980, Stevick 1976). We may unwittingly help to ensure that the speaker of the foreign language remains a 'reduced personality', since we are taking away so many of those choices and interpersonal strategies through which, over the course of his life, his personality has learnt to find its expression.

In another paper at this conference, Jaakko Lehtonen used the term 'communicative anxiety' to describe the reluctance which many Finns feel in speaking a foreign language. It also describes the feeling of many other foreign language speakers. It seems likely that this communicative anxiety will inevitably increase if we go too far in specifying the patterns of communication which the learner must try to use and taking away his scope for self-expression through the foreign language. Indeed, I feel that if I were obliged to use some of the 'typically English' ways of expressing things that are sometimes presented in courses for foreigners, I would be a constant prey to communicative anxiety even in my own native language.

## 4. WHAT IS PERSONALITY?

The extent to which a learner is happy to adopt the speech patterns of the foreign community depends to a large extent on his individual attitudes and orientation. Though I believe that the arguments in the previous section are valid for a large proportion of learners, there are also many learners (perhaps those with an extremely 'integrative' orientation?) who are eager to adopt foreign patterns, even to the extent implied by the studies described in section 2. How can we reconcile this with the argument that these different patterns are closely related to the expression of personality? Must we take the viewpoint that such learners are somehow able to develop a 'dual personality', or even that they have to suppress their 'true self' in order to perform a foreign role? Here I will touch briefly on this issue by relating it to two conceptions of 'personality' which compete with each other in current psychology.

The traditional view of personality, connected with psychologists such as Freud, is that it consists of underlying 'traits', such as 'aggressiviness', 'friendliness' or 'introversion'. These are consistent over time and can be traced back to experiences in early childhood. They exist independently of specific situations. Therefore, if a person's actual behaviour is not consistent with his basic personality traits (eg. an aggressive person behaves in a restrained manner or vice versa), we must explain this with notions such as repression or sublimation. Presumably, if foreign language performance entails far-reaching changes in one's habitual patterns of behaviour, it must also involve, under this conception of personality, phenomena such as repression.

However, a more recent view of personality calls into question the idea of consistent underlying traits. Psychologists such as Mischel (1973, 1981) point out that if we observe an individual's behaviour across different types of situation, there is in fact much less consistency than has usually been supposed. Almost every person shows considerable variation in behaviour patterns and it is quite 'normal' to be, for example, an introvert in some situations but an extrovert in others, or honest in some situations but dishonest in others. As a person gathers experience in life, he learns to associate certain kinds of behaviour with certain categories of situation, because the association leads to outcomes which he values. Behaviour thus results from an interaction between situations and person-variables. The latter would include a person's abilities, values, perceptions and categorisations of situations, and so on. In the present context, important features of this model are that (a) a persons's behaviour patterns are flexible and (b) a person can come to associate a different pattern of behaviour with a situation, if his perception of that situation changes or if he learns that this new behaviour can lead to more valued outcomes. In other words, if we now transfer this general discussion to the specific issue in question here: an otherwise equivalent interpersonal situation could, presumably, 'switch in' one pattern of behaviour in a native-language context but a different pattern of behaviour in a foreign-language context , because the two situations are perceived differently and because different behaviour is expected to lead to desired outcomes. One such desired outcome might be a sense of integration with a particular speech community (native and/or foreign), achieved by adopting appropriate speech behaviour.

If this second model is valid, it seems to offer a more satisfactory account of foreign language learning in its relationship to personality. For example, it may be fruitful to see differences in foreign language performance as due, in part, to the learner's degree of readiness to re-categorise situations when these occur in the foreign language context, and to his willingness to associate new behaviour patterns with them. These two factors would be partly due, in turn, to the value that the learner attaches to the expected outcomes of these changes.

It may also be fruitful to relate all these issues to a theory of role-performance as in Littlewood (1975). Within this framework, learners can be seen as aiming to perform their foreign-language role at different levels, which have different implications in terms of behavioural change. For example, the 'functional' or 'actional' levels do not involve more than comparatively superficial aspects of behaviour, whereas the 'acquired' level involves much closer identification with the new foreign patterns. It is at this deeper level that learners might aspire to produce the kinds of change implied by the contrastive studies described in section 2. Some of the inner mechanisms for these changes might be suggested by the interactional model of personality described above.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Contrastive studies of communicative performance serve to emphasise that we have reached a phase in foreign language teaching where we must think more intensively about the relationship between learning and the individual personality. We must consider questions such as:

(a) What do we mean by the concept of 'personality'?

(b) How does personality relate to patterns of communicative performance?

(c) What policy should we adopt towards the teaching of foreign communicative patterns, when these conflict with the learners' natural choices?

This is clearly an area where delicate compromises are necessary, since the dictates of the learner's personality must often conflict with the expectations of the foreign community. For example, if it is true that westeners expect Japanese speakers of English to disagree more openly, but the Japanese prefer a different communicative style, it is difficult to see how both parties could be completely satisfied by any 'solution'. However, we might bear in mind that all social interaction involves some degree of compromise between conflicting impulses and expectations. In this respect, intercultural communication is not unique, though it poses the problem more acutely.

Within the overall development of foreign language teaching, we are now in a situation which is interestingly different from that of 10 years ago. Then, the nature of the task was clear-cut in general outline: to analyse the skills involved in foreign language use, to develop teaching objectives based on this analysis, and to devise the most efficient ways possible of helping learners to reach these objectives. Now, for the first time, we have to consider that, even if we did find a way to teach foreign communicative performance efficiently in all its aspects, this might not be in the learners' own best interests.

I would also add that if all advanced speakers of (say) English as a foreign language performed in a fully 'English' way, producing an impressively native array of indirect requests, apologies and disarmers, so that their speech patterns became as standardised and indistinguishable as the hamburger, the world would be a much duller place.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blum-Kulka, S. 1982. Learning to say what you mean in a second language: a study of the speech act performance of learners of Hebrew as a second language, *Applied Linguistics* 3, 29-59.

Brown, H.D. 1980. *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Cohen, A.D. and E. Olshtain 1981. Developing a measure of sociocultural competence: the case of apology, *Language Learning* 31, 113-34.

House, J. and G. Kasper 1981. Politeness markers in English and German, in F. Coulmas, (ed.), *Conversational Routine*, The Hague: Mouton.

House-Edmondson, J. 1981. Conversational strategies in German and English. Paper presented at the AILA Congress, Lund, Sweden; also to appear in G. Nickel and D. Nehls, eds. *Special Issue of IRAL* (1982).

Kasper, G. 1979. Errors in speech act realization and use of gambits, *Canadian Modern Language Review* 35, 395-406.

Lehtonen, J. 1982. The Jyväskylä Finnish-English cross-language project. Paper presented at the Conference on Cross-Language Analysis and Second Language Acquisition, Jyväskylä, Finland.

Littlewood, W.T. 1975. Role performance and language teaching, *IRAL* 13, 199-208.

Loveday, L.J. 1982. Communicative interference: a framework for contrastively analyzing communicative competence exemplified with the linguistic behaviour of Japanese performing in English, *IRAL* 20, 1-16.

Mischel, W. 1973. Toward a cognitive social learning reconceptualization of personality, *Psychological Review* 80, 252-83.

Mischel, W. 1981. *Introduction to Personality* (3rd edition). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Stevick, E.W. 1976. *Memory, Meaning and Method.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Thomas, J. 1982. On the need to distinguish different sorts of pragmatic failure in language teaching. Paper presented at the Conference on Cross-Language Analysis and Second Language Acquisition, Jyväskylä, Finland.

# IMMIGRANT CHILDREN IN GERMANY:
# THEIR GRAMMATICAL ABILITIES IN ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Udo O.H. Jung
*Philipps-Universität, Marburg*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

For long stretches of time in the foreign-language teaching methodology discussions and controversies, the two terms "foreign" and "second language learning" have been taken to mean totally different things. In applying the terms, reference has always been made to the locus of teaching. Teaching English in the United States or any other English speaking country, for that matter, was second-language teaching, whereas learning French in Germany was foreign-language learning (cf. eg. Brown 1980:3). There were good reasons for drawing such a distinction. A person who learned English in England entered the English-language bath as soon as he or she stepped out of the classroom. A German student of French as a foreign language in Germany, however, was dismissed by the teacher into a world which was totally different from the learning environment of the classroom.

In the wake of Berko's (1958), Cazden's (1968) and Brown's (1973) studies on the mechanisms of first language acquisition, Heidi Dulay and Marina Burt (1973; 1974 a-c) pioneered a series of studies which aimed at the learner's creative construction processes during second-language acquisition.

And Stephen Krashen has succeeded in integrating the findings of various researchers into what looks like a coherent theory of second language acquisition. His *Monitor Model* of how adults come by second and third languages posits the existence of two approaches to language competence: one is called *acquisition*, the other *learning*. Acquisition generates mental processes similar to those observed, hypothesized rather, in young children who pick up a first language. It is said to be a subconscious process, and the acquirers must be focussed on the message all the while. As a rule, it is the acquisitional system which initiates utterances, and the "fundamental claim of the Monitor Model is that conscious learning is available only as a *Monitor*" (Krashen 1978:2). This Monitor may interfere with the acquired system's output, sometimes before and sometimes after the utterance has occurred; it may apply consciously learnt rules to improve accuracy. There are two constraints in the monitor, however. The student has to have a sufficient amount of time to do the monitoring and he must be focussed on form.

Krashen's model must have carried so much intuitive conviction that hardly anybody stopped to ask how *much* time a *sufficient* amount of time to monitor the linguistic form actually was and how one could tell a student was focussed on the message (cf. however Sajavaara 1978). One answer to this problem lies, of course, in shifting the burden of proof to introspection, which is notoriously untrustworthy, or to circumstantial evidence. Does the student himself report the application of conscious rules to his utterances? Was the task before him such that one would pronounce it to be favourable to the application of rules? A case in point if Larsen-Freeman (1975). When she reported an "unnatural" morpheme order, it was immediately hypothesized that her paper-and-pencil test differed from the ordinary BSM-task employed by Dulay and Burt in that the latter focussed the student on the message, whereas the former drew the student's attention to the linguistic "garb" the message was dressed in.

However that may be, the empirical evidence supplied by Dulay and Burt, Krashen and associates, not forgetting Roger Anderson (1976), together with the constituent elements of the Monitor Model have alerted the foreign-language teaching methodologist to the possible existence of an *autonomous* acquisitional system in the learner which reacts in its own way to the primary linguistic data in the learning/acquiring organism's environment. For, in essence, what the Monitor Model has done is to interiorize the untutored phase of second language learning into the learner himself. What was a haphazard, "extramural", so to speak, reinforcement and training-period formerly has become an orderly process of acquisitional stages emanating from the learner. With the introduction of the Monitor Model the distinction between second- and foreign-language learning has lost much of its previous force. Attention has been shifted from the locus of teaching to the learning individual.

This, in turn, had to provoke the question of whether the products of the learner's acquisitional system may not also surface in the foreign-language classroom. If inborn, the system could be expected to react in one way or another to the linguistic input provided by the foreign-language teacher. In Germany, researchers like Wode (1978a;

1978b; 1981) and Felix (1977a; 1977b; 1982) have long speculated that this might be so. Stephen Krashen, too, had foreseen such a possibility as early as 1978, when he wrote: "It would not be at all surprising if foreign language students show a greater learning effect, manifested by more "unnatural orders". EFL students in other countries might provide the crucial data here" (Krashen 1978:6).

## 2. THE DEA-PROJECT

In the fall of 1978, a pilot project was launched by the Hessian Institute for Educational Planning and School Development (HIBS) in conjunction with the Federal Ministry of Education and Science (BMBW) under the title "Didactic differentation in beginners' English classes with particular reference to slow learners". Several comprehensive schools from the Frankfurt area took part in the experiment, which was scheduled to last for two years. The project leader had developed special teaching materials (cf. Mohr 1979) which were assembled in units, each designed to cover a certain number of teaching hours.

The teachers involved in the project met regularly for two-day conferences with the project leader to discuss and, where necessary or possible, to improve on the teaching materials. On two of these occasions, in April 1979 after 143 teaching hours, when the project was still in its first year, and in April 1980, not long before its end, they collaborated to construct two informal tests designed to cover the first three and the last three units respectively.

### 2.1. THE TESTS

The tests consisted of two halves. The first half, administered on the first day, aimed at assessing the classical (structural) areas of 'Spelling', 'Grammar' and 'Vocabulary' (mostly) by means of the multiple choice technique. If a label has to be stuck on it, *discrete-point* would serve the purpose.

The second half, however, was specially designed to tap the students' communicative competence. In a few words or with the help of pictures, a context of situation was described in German and the task before the students was formulated. To give an example:

> Schreibe auf Englisch, was die Personen sagen.
> Die deutschen Sätze in Klammern helfen Dir.
> (*Write in English what the persons say. The*

*German sentences in brackets will help you.)*[1]

Susan und Peter treffen Tom auf der Strasse.
(*Susan and Peter meet Tom in the street.*)

Susan: ______________________________
(begrüsst Tom)
(*greets Tom*)

To these 'utterance initiators' the students responded by inserting in writing the linguistic forms which they considered to be appropriate. In the above case, most students reacted with a simple and stereotype "Hello, Tom." But there were other and more complex situations which generated a considerable amount of linguistic variation.

As far as Stephen Krashen's time condition is concerned, it is true a time limit was set for the students, but it was a generous one. The vast majority of students did have enough time; they could have used it for monitoring. Had the teachers involved in the project been asked, they would have wanted their students to focus on meaning, not form. The second halves of the two tests were expressly designed to direct the students' attention to the communicative aspects of the verbal exchanges. The writing condition as such cannot be held against the present research design since Roger Anderson found "natural orders" with a composition task (cf. also Kayfetz 1982). The "crucial data" Krashen has been talking about could indeed be provided by subjects in our similar situations on the condition that enough grammatical morphemes in obligatory positions are obtained from the tests.

## 2.2. THE RESEARCH POPULATION

In April 1979, the test papers of twenty-eight immigrant children with various L1s (Italian, Portugese, Roumanian, Turkish, Greek, Serbo-Croatian, Arabic and Hebrew) were secured and compared with those of a group of thirty-one German students selected at random. A year later, when the second informal test was administered, twenty-five of the immigrants (attrition rate = 10.7 per cent) and twenty-six of the German students (attrition rate = 16.1 per cent) were still available, so that they could be compared with one another a second time.

---

[1] The English translations are printed here for the benefit of the reader who is not well-versed in German. They did not appear in the test.

## 3. DATA PROCESSING

The question as to how the utterances should be processed was decided in favour of the Dulay/Burt technique (cf. Burt and Dulay 1980), in spite of the fact that it has lately met with some well-grounded criticism (Wode et al. 1978). In an (admittedly unsatisfactory) manner, data collected at one point in time can and very often do mirror developmental stages of language acquisition, especially if large numbers of subjects contribute to the (error) pool (cf. Jung 1980).

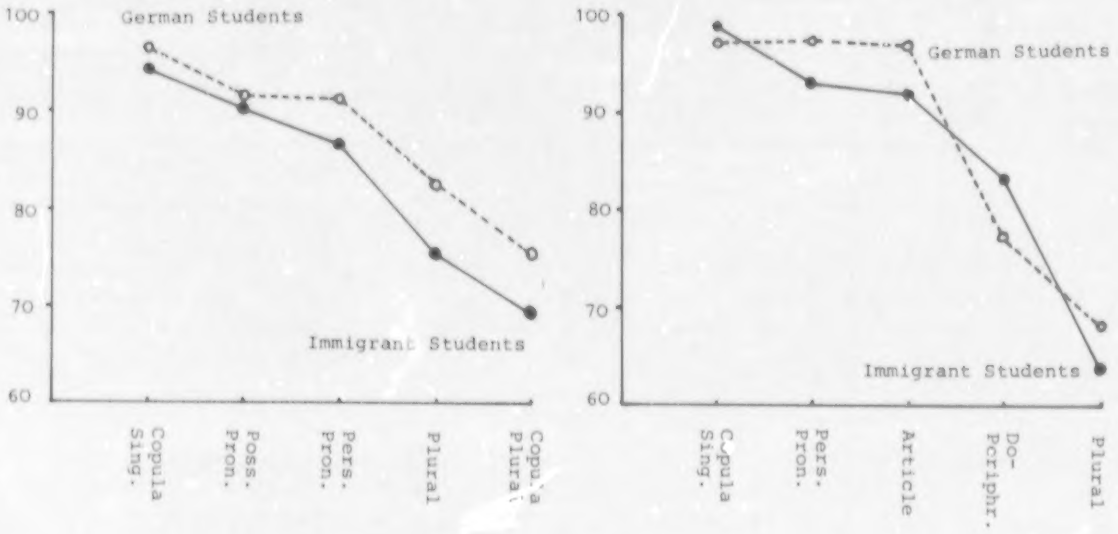
In our case, only grammatical morphemes in obligatory position were counted. (It may be added in parentheses that the number of morphemes supplied in non-obligatory positions was negligible). From the raw data group scores were then computed and converted into learning curves (see Figures 1 and 2).

## 4. RESULTS

Figures 1 and 2 summarize the results of the two tests administered in 1979 and in 1980 respectively. The two sets of learning curves display a fair amount of similarity, even parallelism. Some differences, however, are worth mentioning:

1. The early learning curves are not as steep as the later ones. This may be due to a relatively high degree of overlearning by the students across all grammar points before the first test was administered.
2. The steepness as such is the result of a "clash" in learning curve No 2 between three grammar points with a high degree of stabilization (copula sing.; personal pr.; article) and two others (do-periphrasis and plural) which one would not consider properly acquired yet.
3. The early curves always show the immigrant children performing below the standards set by their German classmates, whereas in the later curves the immigrants can be seen to outperform the Germans on two counts.

Unfortunately, the informal tests did not yield more than five processable grammatical morphemes. What is more, the test authors did not construct their tests with comparability in mind. They had the



FIGURES 1 and 2. The learning curves as established by the tests administered in 1979 and 1980 indicating the acquisition of the grammatical morphemes in obligatory position.

grammar points included in their test instruments dictated to them by the units in the teaching materials. The plural of nouns, however, is represented in both tests, and it promises to be of interest to the discussion centering on language acquisition phenomena which may or may not suface in foreign-language teaching contexts. The rest of this paper will therefore be devoted to a discussion of this problem.

## 5. DISCUSSION

The plural of English nouns poses serious problems to these children both at first and at second testing. As a matter of fact, the group score for *plural* at the time of test two is below that of test one. Other than the *possessive pronoun* or the *copula* (sing.), which could be stabilized at a high performance level, the plural of nouns has dropped below its previous mark. This finding is surprising, because the concept of plurality and how it materializes in English was introduced as early as Unit 1. The very first grammatical rule taught is concerned with pluralization.[1]

A year and a half after this event and with many an opportunity to practice the plural formation of English nouns, not only the German group, but the immigrants in a like manner still balked at this grammatical phenomenon. This should be taken as a possible pointer to the minor role source languages play in the acquisition of a target language.

## 5.1. NATURALISTIC ACQUISITION OF ENGLISH NOUN PLURALS

According to Wode (1981), the sequence of allomorphs in the naturalistic L2 acquisition of English is /-s/, /-z/ and /əz/, as evidenced by his four children who acquired English in an American setting. But he also noticed that his subjects sometimes left the stems uninflected. They reverted to the use of zero morphemes when they were confronted with unfamiliar lexical items or unfamiliar tasks, such as tests, and he speculates that this is a "non-language specific, non-age dependent universal strategy which is followed in cases of uncertainty" (Wode 1981:266). As to language-specific differences, Wode observes that his children were late in incorporating stems in *-er* /-ə~ɚ/ and /θ/. This might well be a consequence of their L1 German; an argument might be made out in favour of the contrastive hypothesis. German nouns ending in *-er* (*Mutter*, *Ritter*, *Müller*, *Gewitter*, etc.) do not normally take a flexive, but either from the plural via Umlaut or leave the stem uninflected. Kari Sajavaara, who has also recommended that "second-language studies must be replicated with foreign-language learners" (Sajavaara 1982:151) is probably right when he says that the "value of CA (ie. contrastive analysis) is small or nil in environments of optimal acquisition, but it grows in correlation with the distance to such a situation..." (Sajavaara 1982:154). We should therefore take a closer look at our classroom data to see if a German-English structural contrast can be said to lie at the base of part of our learning curves.

---

[1] The teaching materials can be ordered from: Hessisches Institut für Bildungsplanung und Schulentwicklung (HIBS), Viktoriastrasse 35, D-6200 Wiesbaden, Federal Republic of Germany.

## 5.2. CONTRASTIVE HYPOTHESIS VERSUS LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

There were at least five occasions in the communicative part of the second informal test where one would expect the students to use plural forms (see Table 1).

A closer look at the students' responses is likely to reveal whether their linguistic behaviour is uniform across all five instances or whether there are significant differences between, say utterances No 1 and No 4. Table 2 gives the details. As ours was a written test, Table 2 foresees only three possibilities: The plural marker (*s*) is either present or absent; in addition, students may attempt to get around the problem by avoiding the use of nouns in the plural. Utterance 4 is a case in point. The majority of the students put down *At 12.12 hrs* to avoid the longer *At twelve minutes past twelve*.

Even a superficial inspection of Table 2 reveals that the overall differences between the two groups are minimal. Large differences can be found, however, between the cells. Utterance No 1, which contains a noun to be pluralized ending in *-er*, differs most prominently from the rest, in that 73.1 per cent of the Germans and 60.0 per cent of the Immigrants do what Wode's children used to do when they were uncertain: they revert to the use of zero morphemes. A difference of (73.1 - 60.0 =) 13.1 per cent points exists here between German and immigrant students indicating the possibility that German-language influence on

TABLE 1. The five occasions in the communicative part of the second test where the use of plural forms was expected.

| Number of utterance | Initiator | Expected Response |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | A sagt, dass er Hamster mag.<br>(A says he likes hamsters) | I like hamsters. |
| (2) | B sagt, dass es genau 4 Minuten vor acht ist.<br>(B says that it is exactly four minutes to eight) | It is exactly four minutes to eight. |
| (3) | B wiederholt die Uhrzeit<br>(B repeats time) | It is four minutes to eight. |
| (4) | R.O. (= Railway Officer) sagt: Um 12.12 Uhr.<br>(R.O. says: At 12.12) | At twelve minutes past twelve. |
| (5) | Lady: (verlangt zwei Fahrkarten nach Dover)<br>(Lady: asks for two tickets to Dover) | Two tickets to Dover, please. |

TABLE 2. The students' responses to the test items where the use of the plural was expected.

Germans (N = 26) | Immigrants (N = 25)

| Number of Utterance | percentage Ø morph | percentage s-morph | percentage avoidance | percentage Ø morph | percentage s-morph | percentage avoidance |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 73.1 | 3.8 | 23.1 | 50.0 | 16.0 | 24.0 |
| 2 | 11.5 | 80.1 | 7.7 | 16.0 | 80.0 | 4.0 |
| 3 | 11.5 | 80.1 | 7.7 | 12.0 | 84.0 | 4.0 |
| 4 | 3.8 | 34.6 | 61.6 | 0 | 20.0 | 80.0 |
| 5 | 34.6 | 50.0 | 15.3 | 44.0 | 56.0 | 0 |
| Means | 26.9 | 49.7 | 23.1 | 26.4 | 51.2 | 22.4 |

student performance is stronger in the case of the natives.[1] At the same time, it must be said that if the high percentage of zero morphemes in the case of *hamster* is called interference or transfer, such interference is most probably due to the "base language", German, not the students' various mother tongues (cf. also Chandrasekhar 1978).

The use of Ø returns, albeit less prominently, in utterance No 5. While the high percentage of correct plural usage in utterances No 2 and No 3 (itself a repetition of No 2) could be dismissed as fixed expressions learned as wholes, the fifty odd per cent correct responses to utterance initiator No 5 would have to be taken as proof that the students irrespective of their linguistic or cultural background are still [illegible] half-way between start and finish after nearly two years of instruction. Henning Wode, it will be remembered, found that the "use of Ø pervades the L1 data in much the same way as it does the L2 material" (Wode 1981: 265). It seems to encompass foreign-language teaching and learning processes, too.

To sum up then, it can be said that although our data were restricted to a few written utterances, which did not allow us to establish the sequence of plural allomorphs in a foreign-language teaching environment, the phenomena observed by Wode in a second-language acquisition context are not without parallel in the foreign-language classroom. They can be language-specific, as in the case of nouns ending in *-er* or universal. In the former instance, it is the base language, which determines the linguistic behaviour of the students.

As far as the natural order of morphemes is concerned and the question of whether this order surfaces again in the foreign-language classroom, the available evidence does not enable us to give definite answers. But the fact that after two years of teaching the plural of English nouns still poses serious problems to natives and immigrants alike, suggests that success or failure in foreign-language learning is not simply a matter of teachers teaching and of students learning the foreign idiom, but the result of an interplay of the former with a third party, an autonomous language acquisition system, which has its own ways of going about the job. It will be our task in future years to reconcile the system's means and ways to those of teachers and learners.

---

[1] Apart from an indication of the country of origin no further linguistic or socioeconomic information was available on the immigrant children or their parents. Thus it can only be said that their performance in German as a second language must have been adequate to cope for two consecutive years with an ordinary German secondary-school curriculum. There were fewer drop-outs in the immigrant than in the German group.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anderson, R. 1976. A *function acquisition hierarchy study in Puerto Rico*. Paper presented at the 10th Annual TESOL Conference, New York, March 1976.

Berko, J. 1958. The child's learning of English morphology, *Word* 14, 150-177.

Brown, H.D. 1980. *Principles of language learning and teaching*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Brown, R. 1973. A *first language: the early stages*. Cambridge: Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Burt, M.K. and H.C. Dulay 1980. On acquisition orders, in S.W. Felix (ed.), *Second language development: trends and issues*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Cazden, C.B. 1968. The acquisition of noun and verb inflections, *Child Development* 39, 433-448.

Chandrasekhar, A. 1978. Base language, *IRAL* 16, 62-65.

Dulay, H.C. and M.K. Burt 1973. Should we teach children syntax?, *Language Learning* 23, 245-258.

Dulay, H.C. and M.K. Burt 1974a. Errors and strategies in child language acquisition, *TESOL Quarterly* 8, 129-136.

Dulay, H.C. and M.K. Burt 1974b. Natural sequences in child second language acquisition, *Language Learning* 24, 37-53.

Dulay, H.C. and M.K. Burt 1974c. A new perspective on the creative construction process in child second language acquisition, *Language Learning* 24, 235-278.

Felix, S.W. 1977a. Natürlicher Zweitsprachenerwerb und Fremdsprachenunterricht. *Linguistik und Didaktik* 31, 231-247.

Felix, S.W. 1977b. Entwicklungsprozesse im natürlichen und gesteuerten Zweitsprachenerwerb, *Anglistik & Englischunterricht* 1, 39-60.

Felix, S.W. 1982. *Kreative Kompetenz im Zweitspracheneruerb*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Jung, U.O.H. 1980. Reading, writing, and phonology in modern foreign language teaching, in S.W. Felix (ed.), *Second language development: trends and issues*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Krashen, S.D. 1978. The monitor model for second-language acquisition, in R.C. Gingras (ed.), *Second-language acquisition & foreign language teaching*, Arlington, Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1-26.

Krashen, S.D. 1981. *Second language acquisition and second language learning*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Kayfetz, J.L. 1982. Natural sequences in speech and writing in adult second language acquisition, *System* 10, 145-157.

Larsen-Freeman, D. 1975. The acquisition of grammatical morphemes by adult ESL students, *TESOL Quarterly* 9, 409-420.

Mohr, P. 1979. I'm looking for a jumper. Texte und Übungen zum Englischunterricht im 5. Schuljahr mit heterogenen Lerngruppen - ein Werkstattbericht, *Englisch-Amerikanische Studien* 1, 41-70.

Sajavaara, K. 1978. The monitor model and monitoring in foreign language speech communication, in R.C. Gingras (ed.), *Second-language acquisition & foreign language teaching*, Arlington, Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics, 51-67.

Sajavaara, K. 1982. The monitor model and contrastive analysis, *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 14, 145-155.

Schumann, J.H. 1978. The acculturation model for second-language acquisition, in R.C. Gingras (ed.), *Second-language acquisition & foreign language teaching*, Arlington, Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics, 27-50.

Stevenson, D.K. 1981. Language testing and academic accountability: on redefining the role of language testing in language teaching, *IRAL* 19, 15-30.

Tarone, E. 1974. A discussion of the Dulay and Burt studies, *Working Papers on Bilingualism* 4, 57-70.

Van Ek, J.A. 1980. *Threshold level English*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Wode, H. 1974. Natürliche Zweitsprachigkeit: Probleme, Aufgaben, Perspektiven, *Linguistische Berichte* 32, 15-36.

Wode, H. 1978a. L1-Erwerb, L2-Erwerb und Fremdsprachenunterricht, *Die Neueren Sprachen* 77, 452-465.

Wode, H. 1978b. Fehler, Fehleranalyse und Fehlerbenotung im Lichte des natürlichen L2-Erwerbs, *Linguistik und Didaktik* 9, 233-245.

Wode, H. 1981. *Learning a second language, I. An integrated view of language acquisition*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Wode, H. et al. 1978. Developmental sequence: an alternative approach to morpheme order, *Language Learning* 28, 175-183.

# UNDERSTANDING IDIOMS IN FIRST AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION: A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

Edna Aphek and Yishai Tobin
*Jewish Theological Seminary, Jerusalem*
*Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Be'er Sheva*

## INTRODUCTION

The notion of what are generally and loosely referred to as 'idioms' or 'formulaic expressions' has always been a problematic element both in language description and explanation in general (Chafe 1970:41-49, Kocij 1965, Lees 1963, Lyons 1968:177-178, Marchand 1965, 1969, Matthews 1974:33-36) as well as in the fields of first and second language acquisition in particular (Paivo and Begg 1981:42-43, Lindfors 1980:54-55). The same holds true for the study of the definition and the acquisition of modern Hebrew compounds and idioms as well (Berman 1978:234-237, 265, 271, 275 fn. 7, 426, Kaddari 1969, Levi 1976, Nir 1967, 1971, 1975, 1980). The role of idioms in most linguistics studies is usually relegated to a sub-category of the lexicon, an additional kind of sentence type, or a deviant or special kind of expression or compound lexical item in need of special semantic consideration.

Gibbon (1981, 1982) presents a most thorough summary of the linguistic domain of idiomaticity and its connection to language form, use and variation as well as the significance of idiom's violation of Frege's principle and their place in the field of contrastive semantics. Various syntactic terms used to describe idioms include 'stereotypy', 'collocational stability', 'frozenness', and 'fossilization' (Makkai 1972). Hockett (1958) proposed a hierarchy of idioms from the morphemic level to the level of discourse. Firth (1968) also studied idioms from the highest discourse levels as well. The phonological level of idioms was studied by Smith (1925) and Bolinger (1950). Katz and Postal (1963) presented a more formal morphological description of idioms and Newmeyer (1974) and Weinreich (1966) have studied unambiguous 'phrasal' idioms. Malkiel (1959), Makkai (1972) and Fraser (1970) have discussed the notion of clausal level idioms from various theoretical points of view. This hierarchy of linguistic levels has also not failed to reach scholars dealing with 'speech acts', eg., Bublitz (1978), Sadock (1974), Searle (1976). On the suprasentential or 'pragmatic' level, idioms have been discussed by Burger (1973) and Gülich and Henke (1980). All of the above studies, and many more, agree that the common denominator of all idiomatic-like expressions is the fact that they represent linguistic utterances (on all levels) that cannot (unlike Frege's principle) be reduced to the sum of their component parts (semantically, or phonologically, or syntactically, or morphologically, or from the point of view of prosody or pragmatics).

(a) Definitions of idioms on the sentence or utterance levels from a syntactic and semantic point of view:

> According to Lyons (1968:177): At this point we should perhaps mention a further category of utterances or parts of utterances which resemble 'incomplete' sentences in that they do not correspond directly to sentences generated by the grammar, but differ from them in that their description does not involve the application of the rules established to account for the vast mass of more 'normal' utterances. These are what de Saussure has called 'ready made utterances' ( locutions toutes faites'): expressions which are learned as unanalysable wholes and employed on particular occasions by native speakers...
>
> From a strictly grammatical point of view such utterances (eg. proverbs E.A. & Y.T.) are not properly regarded as sentences, even though they are distributionally independent and thus satisfy the definition of the sentence... Their internal structure, unlike that of genuine sentences, is not accounted for by means of rules which specify the permissible combinations of words. However, in a total description of the language, which brings together the phonological and the grammatical analysis, they might be classified as (grammatically unstructured) sentences, since they bear the same intonation contour as sentences generated by the grammar. Apart from this fact, they are to be accounted for simply by listing them in the dictionary with an indication of the situations in which they are used and their meaning.
>
> There are two further points to be made about socially-prescribed utterances as *How do you do?*. They tend to be 'ready made', in the sense that they are learned by native speakers as unanalysed wholes and are clearly not constructed afresh on each occassion on which they are used in what, following Firth, we may refer to as 'typical repetitive events in the social process'. Since they have this character, it would be possible to account for them in a 'behaviouristic framework': the utterances in question could reasonably be described as 'conditioned responses' to the situations in which they occur. This fact should not be overlooked by the semanticists. There is a good

> deal of our everyday use of language which is quite properly described in 'behaviourist' terms, and can be attributed to our 'acting out' of particular 'roles' in the maintenance of socially-prescribed, 'ritualistic' patterns of behaviour. With regard to this aspect of their use of language, human beings behave like many animals, whose 'systems of communication' are made up of a set of 'ready-made utterances' which are used in particular situations. The more typically human aspects of language-behavior, which depend upon the generative properties of language and also upon the semantic notions of having meaning, reference and sense, are not plausibly accounted for by extending to them the 'behaviourist' notions of 'stimulus' and 'response'. It is nevertheless true that human language includes a 'behavioural' component...
> (Lyons 1968:417)

Thus, it should be readily evident that any study dealing with idioms or the acquisition of idioms goes right to the heart of the complexity and difficulty of defining language, the concepts or notions of sentence, utterance, and prosody on the one hand and is further embroiled in the cognitive-mentalistic psycholinguistic and behavioural-associative dichotomous approaches of first and second language acquisition.

(b) Definition of idioms on the 'word' level:

On the 'word' or 'morphological' level idioms, Matthews (1974:33-34) presents the problem in the following way:

> A quite different discrepancy arises between the lexeme as considered from the grammarian's viewpoint, and a 'lexeme' which might be posited on strictly 'lexical' grounds. In the phrase *a block of ice* the *ice* belongs to the lexeme ICE, and in *a jug of cream* the word *cream* belongs to the lexeme CREAM. But what of *ice-cream* in *I want some ice-cream?...*
> This meaning cannot be predicted from those of ICE and CREAM as such, and the dictionary writer must therefore give it in a separate entry (as in the *OED*) or in a special subentry under '*ice*' or '*cream*' or both. '*Ice-cream*', that is to say, is a distinct unit from the semantic or the lexicographical view-point.
>
> It is in such a case that some writers have found the term 'lexeme' particularly appropriate. Although in one sense or at one level *ice-cream* remains, at first sight, *ice* plus *cream*, nevertheless in another sense or at another level it is simply one more unit in the lexical inventory of the language... ICE-CREAM we can say, is a compound lexeme related by a process of 'composition' or 'compounding' to

> to the simple lexemes ICE and CREAM...

It is also evident that the question of idioms or 'compounds' or 'lexemes' and their prosodic, lexical, and grammatical implications in their acquisition is equally as thorny an issue on the word level as well as on the sentence or utterance level.

Paivo and Begg (1981:42-43) discuss the metaphorical-semantic element of compounds and idiomatic expressions from the point of view of the language learner:

> ...Such compounds (*bigwig*, *wallflower*, E.A., Y.T.) are actually idioms, whose meanings are only metaphorically related to the meanings of the component words, and the person learning English has no alternative but to learn the compounds essentially as separate units. This is less true of other compounds such as *longbow*, *dishpan* and *wild-flower* whose meanings are more or less predictable from their lexical components...
>
> The idiomatic expression or phrase, like the idiomatic compound word, is another kind of complex structure whose meaning is metaphorical, not predictable directly from the meanings of the individual words. Such common examples are *knock down a strawman*, *fly the coop*, and *hit the sack* Such idiomatic phrases create an unusually difficult problem for the language learner, not only because their meanings are idiosyncratic, but also because they are usually open to plausible although inappropriate literal interpretations...

Besides the metaphorical use of idioms which allows the speaker to achieve original means of expression beyond the ordinary or prescribed language he has learned, many idioms represent the collective cultural memory of a nation and its civilization, (eg. in Hebrew the use of the name Benjamin to signify the youngest of man's sons, etc.). With regard to Hebrew idioms in particular, many of those idioms prevalent in everyday usage represent classical biblical and post-biblical origins (eg. the idiom *lo dubim ve lo ya'ar* (lit. neither bears nor forests) meaning a 'cock-and-bull-story') as well as loan words and calques which have been introduced into the language as a result of the various immigrations to Israel by Jews from Europe and North and South America as well as Africa, Asia and the Near East (eg. *ala eini* ('my eye') from the Arabic or *na'asa li xošex ba'eynaim* ('my eyes grew black') from the Yiddish, meaning horrified). It is particularly interesting to note that both kinds of idioms, the literary--cultural as well as the loan word-calque have become part and parcel of idiomatic modern Hebrew and can be found in all the spoken, including slang, and written registers of the language.[1]

However, we would like to note that despite the fact that in certain cases literary-historical idioms may be used in ironic and/or absurd contexts, the difference between literary and cultural idioms and slang idioms is fundamental. The former conserve the cultural and collective memory of the nation as well as archaic structural patterns of the language and serve to embellish and adorn both spoken and written Hebrew. The latter serve as catalysts, perhaps, for syntactic change (Aphek-Kahnman 1982), and usually fill in semantic voids for contemporary everyday phenomena.

In 1967, Nir conducted a comprehensive study of the active and passive aqcuisition and use of idioms of old Hebraic sources and loan translation by native Hebrew-speaking high school students, in Israel in two language skills: reading and writing. This was done by examining student compositions as well as administering a series of multiple choice examinations, two of which tested the student's comprehension of idioms while the third investigated the student's ability to re-construct the idioms of the first two tests when given a part of the idiom as a stimulus.

---

[1] As an example of this we would like to present parallel examples of the idiomatic usage of a similar phrase found in a sketch presented by Israel's most popular satirical-comedy team (*Ha-Gashash Ha-Hiver*) and in a poem by Natan Zach, one of Israel's leading poets, a professor of Hebrew literature at Haifa University and the recipient of some of Israel's most prestigious literary awards and prizes. Both sources employ the idiomatic-metaphoric use of the words *safa*, *sfat* ('lip, language, border, edge, shore, bank'):

(a) *sfat ha-em* selo ze anglit aval hu kol ha-yom *be-sfat ha-yam*

'His *native language* (*sfat ha-em*, literally 'the language of the mother') is English but he's on the beach (*sfat ha-yam*, literally 'the shore of the sea') the whole day.

This particular example is taken from an anthology of the sketches of the group entitled: *The Golden Book of the Gashash Ha-Hiver*, 1975. The translation is ours.

(b) ani yosev al *sfat ha-rehov* u mabit ba anasim

'I sit on the 'street bank' (*sfat ha-rehov* literally the edge of the street' as well as 'street language' or 'slang').

This particular example is taken from an anthology of Zach's poems entitled: *Selected Poems*, 1950, Tel Aviv: Aleph publishers. The translation is ours.

Nir (1967:6-9) discusses the notion of idiom or 'idiomacy' in modern Hebrew and develops criteria by which idioms may be distinguished from expressions, proverbs and other 'stable compounds':

> 'Idiomacy is a significant quality by which idioms can be identified. The degree of idiomacy of a given combination is determined by the number of phrases in which one of its components serves in the special meaning it has in the idiom (in its 'idiomatic' sense). A combination will be considered as possessing a high degree of idiomacy if the other combinations, in which one (or more) of its components serves in its special sense, do not exceed two. Such a compound will be defined as a idiom. If one of the components of an idiom is an obsolete word, it will be considered to have no 'normal' meaning (outside the combination) and consequently to possess a high degree of idiomacy (on the synchronic level, of course, as in an earlier period it may have been a common word)...
>
> Besides the quality of idiomacy, another important criterion exists, whereby one can tell an idiom from a free compound. This characteristic we shall call 'stability'. The stability of a given combination is assessed according to the degree of certainty by which its complete structure can be predicted if a part of it is given.
>
> Most idioms possess both qualities - idiomacy and stability - but in order to decide whether a given phrase is an idiom, it is enough if it meets one of these criteria.
>
> In certain languages (such as English, for example) there are many idioms with a grammatical structure deviating from the accepted norm. In these languages grammatical divergencies in combinations may serve as an additional criterion to identify an idiom. In Hebrew these instances are very rare, and thus this quality cannot be considered as typical of Hebrew idioms.
>
> Many Hebrew phrases, which in other languages would take the form of a compound word, are not regarded as 'nivim' (Heb. idioms) (E.A. & Y.T.) although they possess both or one of these qualities (idiomacy and stability). These 'set phrases' constitute a marginal group between the single word and the idiom.
>
> It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between a set phrase and an idiom, especially when dealing with nominative compounds...
>
> Idioms and proverbs are often confused in Hebrew textbooks. Both of them are frequently brought under the heading of

> 'nivim'. The reason appears to be that both the idiom and the proverb are conceived as self-contained independent semantic units. In order to avoid such an erroneous attitude, one has to keep in mind that an idiom is basically a lexical unit, whereas a proverb is a saying expressing a general truth which is applicible to many specific instances...[1]
>
> The definition of the Hebrew idiom will be as follows: A 'niv' is a combination of lexical units possessing a high degree of both idiomacy and stability or a high degree of either of these qualities, without being a set phrase or a proverb.

## METHODOLOGY AND DISCUSSION

We have chosen to examine the perception and reception of idioms in younger age groups of native Hebrew speakers in kindergarten and elementary school, as well as to compare their performance with older learners of Hebrew as a second language whose native language is English.

He have compiled a list of 21 idioms or expressions which commonly appear in the Israeli media (radio and television) journalistic prose, colloquial language, slang, as well as familiar idioms and expressions whose origin is from the Bible or traditional sources which appear in all registers of spoken and written Hebrew.[2]

We chose to test the subjects' perception of idioms by presenting idioms from the media, standard language and slang, in sentences in context and asking the subjects (91 in number, either orally or in writing depending on the age of the subjects) to explain the idiom in their own words or by paraphrase. We also presented our subjects with

---

[1] The specific role of proverbs or what we have referred to as 'two-bit philosophy' in the use of the language used by Hebrew-speaking fortune tellers has been discussed in more detail in Aphek and Tobin (1981a, b, c, d).

[2] Hebrew is made up of three main historical strata. The first being Biblical Hebrew, spoken up to the 6th century B.C., the second Mishnaic Hebrew, so called after the Mishna, an authoritative collection of religious laws compiled around 200 A.D., spoken up to the 3rd century A.D., and modern Hebrew from the middle of the 19th century on. Each of these "languages" has a dictionary and a grammar of its own. Yet, Mishnaic Hebrew draws on Biblical Hebrew and modern Hebrew on both Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew. We would like to point out, however, that many of the "traditional" idioms appear quite frequently in colloquial conversation and are perceived as being "modern", as many of the "standard" idioms have "traditional" sources.

Table 1. The Idioms Used

| Transliterated Idiom | Literal Meaning | Idiomatic Meaning | Grammatical Analysis[5] | Semantic Analysis |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| IA. *From the Media* | | | | |
| 1. *ve ikaran txila* | "and their essentials the beginning" | Said at the beginning of the radio news | conjunction-declined noun (3rd person, feminine)-noun | neutral-neither positive nor negative |
| 2. *saxek ota* | "play it" | The name of a television program: "it's your turn," "hurry up" | Sentence-unmarked imperative declined prep (3rd person, fem.) | positive connotation as appears in media, negative connotation possible in actual conversation. |
| 3. *tse mi ze* | "get out of it" | The name of a television program: "solve the problem" | Sentence-unmarked imperative -preposition- dem. pronoun (masc. sg.) | positive connotation, encouragement to overcome difficulty |
| II. *Standard Idioms Found in Both Spoken and Written Hebrew* | | | | |
| 1. *be xvodo u ve atsmo* | "in his honor and in (by) himself" | "He himself, in person" | prep.-declined noun (3rd person, masc., sg.)-conj. -declined noun (3rd person masc., sg.) 'frozen' phonological forms- *be-x u-ve*) | neutral, can also be used ironically |
| 2. (*lirot x*) *be or varod* | "(to see x) in pink light" | "in rose-colored glasses" "*la vie en rose*" | Sentence-(Verb - (transitive-X) prep. noun-adj. (both masc., sg.) | positive connotation (usually) negative connotation possible |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. *beineinu le ven atsmeinu* | "between us and between ourselves" | "strictly between ourselves"<br>"speaking among ourselves"<br>"between you and me and the gate post"<br>*entre nous* | declined prep. (1st person, pl.) -prep.-prep. declined noun (1st person, pl.) 'frozen' phonological form- *le-v* | neutral pre-supposed inference the exclusion of others, pragmatic effect in discourse bringing speaker and hearer closer |
| 4. *derex agav* | "by way of incident" | "by the way," *a propos*, "incidentally" | noun-(masc.&fem.) -prep. | neutral |
| III. *Slang* | | | | |
| 1. *red mimeni* | "get down from me" | "get off my back", "leave me be" "get off my case" | Sentence-imperative- declined prep. (1st person, sg.) | negative connotation |
| 2. *yeled tov yerushalayim* | "good boy of Jerusalem" | "a goody-goody", "an overly well-behaved and mannerly child" | noun-adj.-(both masc., sg.) -noun | negative connotation based on (a surfeit) of positive qualities |
| 3. *laavod alai* | "to work on me" | "to deceive me", "to lie to me", "to fool me" | Sentence--Verb-declined prep. (1st person, sg.) often appears in negative imperatives) | negative connotation |
| 4. *kemo shaon* | "like a clock" | "like clockwork" | prep.-noun (masc., sg.) | positive connotation |
| IB. *Biblical or Historical Expressions* | | | | |
| 1. *lo dubim ve lo yaar* | "no bears and no forest", "neither bears nor forest" | "nothing of the kind", impossible tale, complete fabrication, cock and bull story | Sentence-neg. marker- noun (masc., pl.) conj.-neg. marker-noun (masc., sg.) (0 copular in 'present tense'). | negative connotation |
| 2. *bur ve am ha arets* | "illiterate, ignoramus and inhabitants" | "boorish," "common people", "hoi polloi" | noun-(masc., sg.)-conj.-noun (masc., sg.)-def.art. noun (fem., sg.) | negative connotation |

(cont.)

Table 1. The Idioms Used (cont.)

| Transliterated Idiom | Literal Meaning | Idiomatic Meaning | Grammatical Analysis[5] | Semantic Analysis |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. *halox va shov* | "going and returning" "continuous" | "to and fro", back and forth" "round trip" | adverbial phrase-inf-conj. -inf. ('frozen' phon. form va.) | neutral connotation |
| 4. *yatsa be shen va ayin* | "got out with tooth and eye" | "to lose much", "suffer serious losses" (originally) "to be freed" (said of a slave whose master caused the loss of a tooth or eye) | sentence-verb-prep.-noun-(fem., sg.) (body part) -conj.-noun-(fem., sg.) (body part)('frozen' phon. form *va*) | negative connotation presupposition 'suffered great loss' |
| 5. *higiu mayim ad nafesh* | "the waters have arrived onto the soul" | "my troubles have reached their climax" "the situation is unbearable", "I can take no more" | sentence-verb (3rd person, masc., pl.)-noun (masc., pl.)-prep.-noun (fem., sg.) ('frozen phon. form *nafesh*) | negative connotation |
| 6. *ayin taxat ayin* | "eye under/instead of eye" | "an eye for an eye" | noun (fem., sg.)(body part) -prep.-noun (fem., sg.) (body part) | negative presupposition also used legally in the financial sense |
| 7. *altistakel ba kankan...* | "don't look at the jar" | "don't judge a book by its cover", "all that glitters is not gold" | sentence-neg. imp.prep. - noun (masc., sg.) | negative presupposition |
| 8. *alaxat kama ve xama* | "one one how many and how many" | "the more so", "how much (more)", *a fortiori*, let alone | prep-fem. numeral-adv.-conj.-adv. ('frozen' phon. form *ve-x*) | neutral connotation pragmatic function of intensifying |
| 9. *tsafra tava* | good morning (Aramaic) | "good morning" | noun-adj. (Aramaic) | neutral greeting |
| 10. *lo yard le sof daato* | "(he) didn't go down to the end of his idea" | "(he) didn't grasp his meaning completely", "(he) didn't get it" | sentence-neg. marker-verb-prep.-noun- declined noun (3rd person masc., sg.) | negative connotation |

the list of the idioms taken from sources (10), including an idiom in Aramaic[1].

We asked the subjects to choose the most suitable idiom to complete a sentence which provided a meaningful context upon which he could base his choice. This task was done in writing by our older subjects. We asked our younger subjects orally if they had ever heard these idioms and asked them to explain what they think they mean after presenting them in their appropriate context. In addition, we asked our native-speaker subjects to provide us with a list of their favorite idioms or expressions, their meanings, and their reasons for liking them.

The idioms which we selected appear in Table 1, the Idioms Used. It contains the transliterated Hebrew idioms, their literal meanings, their idiomatic meanings as they appear in the Alcalay Hebrew English dictionary, and morphological-syntactic and semantic analysis of these idioms. We would like to point out again that because of the particular history of the Hebrew language which has affected both its phonetic, phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic structure, "traditional" or "historical idioms" appear in all registers, spoken and written, of modern Hebrew. An English translation of the questionnaire used will appear in an Appendix at the end of this article.

We would like to note that not all the idioms on our list appeared in all standard dictionaries and/or in the slang dictionary. For example, the idioms I2 *saxeh ota* and I3 *tse mize*, which are newly coined television idioms (ie., the names of television game programs), did not appear in any dictionary, nor did the slang idiom III4 *kmo sha'on*.

Idiom IB3 *halox vashov* is typical of the shift that some archaic idioms undergo. This idiom appears in the Alcalay (1965) dictionary only in the meaning of 'to and fro' or 'a return ticket', whereas its original meaning taken from Genesis 8:3, the story of the Flood, is 'returned continually'. Thus, many Hebrew speakers still use the idiom in both its meanings, though many, and especially the young ones, use it only in its modern more literal meaning and comprehend this idiom as being composed of two verbs, one being *halox* 'go' and the other *(va) shov* 'land', 'return', whereas in its original meaning *halox* served as an auxiliary, indicating the continual return of the water.

---

[1] According to Rubin (no date:153, fn. 9), Aramaic resembles Hebrew to about the extent that German resembles English. It came an international language during the Persian Empire (539-331 B.C.) and subsequently displaced Hebrew and other Near Eastern languages in spoken use.

We administered our preliminary questionnaire to kindergarten age children (5-6 years old), second grade children (7.5-9 years old), and sixth grade children (11.5-13 years old), all of whom were native speakers of Hebrew and attended regular, ie., secular (*not* religious), state supported Israeli public schools in two Israeli cities Jerusalem and Be'er Sheva.

We also administered our preliminary questionnaire to adult learners of Hebrew as a second language (all native English speakers) who are currently living in Jerusalem and studying Hebrew in an academic framework in beginning, intermediate and advanced Hebrew language classes. We will compare these results to those of our native speaking informants.

We would like to point out that the children in the kindergarten and primary and junior high schools chosen are representative of the various oriental and western segments (Sephardi and Ashkenazi) of the Israeli population and are representative of a cross section of urban youth.

The results of our preliminary study of idiom comprehension appear in Table 2, A Comparative Table of Results for Native Speakers, and Table 3, A Comparative Table of Results for Adult Second Language Learners.

We will first present the results of our native Hebrew speaking informants beginning with the kindergarten age group followed by the 2nd and 6th grades. In all cases, we considered a paraphrase or explanation of the idiomatic meaning as a correct response, a close approximation or part of the idiomatic meaning as a partially correct response and a literal word-for-word rendering of the literal meaning as an incorrect response. Each child was interviewed individually. The interviewer spoke with the child, asking him if he had ever heard anyone say the idiom, presented it in context and then asked the child to guess the meaning. An examination of our kindergarten age group reveals that the children we interviewed had a sporadic knowledge of a very limited number of idioms (the boys being slightly more knowledgeable than the girls) with slang idioms prevailing as well as the more concrete idioms, *halox vashov* and *ve ikaran txila*, whose literal meanings are close to their idiomatic use. For the idioms which are used as the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 2. A Comparative Table of Results for Native Speakers

| Idiom ## | Kindergarten | 2nd grade | 6th grade | Second Language Learners |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| IA 1) | -13<br>4 p.k | +5<br>-12 | +27<br>-4<br>5 p.k | +14<br>-7 |
| 2) | -17 | +2<br>-15 | +12<br>-16<br>8 p.k | -21 |
| 3) | -17 | +5<br>-10<br>2 p.k | +17<br>-16<br>3 p.k | -19<br>+1<br>1 p.k |
| II 1) | +1<br>-16 | +2<br>-13<br>2 p.k | +25<br>-9<br>2 p.k | +8<br>-10<br>3 p.k |
| 2) | -17 | -15<br>2 p.k | +23<br>-12<br>1 p.k | +10<br>-10<br>1 p.k |
| 3) | +1<br>-15<br>1 p.k | +3<br>-14 | +28<br>-7<br>1 p.k | +18<br>-3 |
| 4) | +1<br>-17 | +3<br>-14 | +23<br>-11<br>2 p.k | +15<br>-5<br>1 p.k |
| III 1) | +2<br>-14<br>1 p.k | +9<br>-7<br>1 p.k | +31<br>-3<br>2 p.k | +14<br>-7 |
| 2) | -17 | -13<br>4 p.k | +12<br>-18<br>6 p.k | +10<br>-10<br>1 p.k |
| 3) | +3<br>-14 | +7<br>-8<br>2 p.k | +33<br>-3 | +9<br>-10<br>2 p.k |
| 4) | -17 | +5<br>-12 | +31<br>-5 | +13<br>-1<br>7 p.k |
| IB 1) | -17 | +1<br>-15<br>1 p.k | +25<br>-11 | +10<br>-11 |
| 2) | +1<br>-16 | -16<br>+1 | +25<br>-11 | +19<br>-2 |
| 3) | +5<br>-12 | +2<br>-15 | +34<br>-4 | +10<br>-11 |
| 4) | -17 | -17 | +32<br>-4 | +12<br>-9 |
| 5) | -17 | -17 | +22<br>-14 | +9<br>-12 |
| 6) | -17 | -17 | +30<br>-6 | +17<br>-4 |
| 7) | -17 | +3<br>-14 | +21<br>-15 | +10<br>-11 |
| 8) | -17 | -17 | +26<br>-10 | +10<br>-16 |
| 9) | -17 | -17 | +28<br>-8 | +10<br>-11 |
| 10) | -17 | -17 | +25<br>-11 | +7<br>-14 |

p.k = partial knowledge

Table 3. A Comparative Table of Results for Second Language Learners

| Group 1 | Group 2 | Group 3 | Group 4 | Rabbinical Literature Class | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| +2<br>-1 | +2<br>-1 | -1<br>+1 | +4 | +5<br>-4 | ve ikaran txila |
| -3 | -2 | -3 | -4 | -9 | saxek ota |
| -3 | -2<br>1.5 | -2 | -4 | +1<br>-8 | tse mi ze |
| -3 | -2<br>1.5 | +1<br>1.5 | +1<br>-3 | +6 1.5<br>-22 | be xvodo u ve atsmo |
| -3 | -2<br>+1 | +1<br>1.5 | +3<br>-1 | +5<br>-4 | (lirot x) be or varod varod |
| +1<br>-2 | +3 | +1<br>-1 | +4 | +9 | beineinu le ven atsmeinu |
| +1<br>-2 | +1<br>-2 | +1<br>-1 | +3<br>1.5 | +9 | derex agav |
| +1<br>-2 | -3 | +2 | +4 | +7<br>-2 | red mimeni |
| +2<br>-1 | +1<br>-2 | +1<br>-1 | +1 +1<br>-2 | +5<br>-4 | yeled tov yerushalayim |
| -3 | +1<br>-2 | 1.5<br>+1 | -1<br>+3 | +4/-4/1.5 | laavod alai |
| +1/1.5/-1 | +2/1.5 | +2 | +3/1.5 | +5/4.5 | kemo shaon |
| +1 -2 | -2 +1 | -1 +1 | +4 | +3/-6 | lo dubim ve lo yaar |
| +2 -1 | +3 | +2 | +4 | +8 -1 | bur ve am ha arets |
| +1 -2 | -2 +1 | -1/+1 | +4 | +3 -6 | halox va shov |
| +1 -2 | -3 | +2 | +4 | -5 +4 | yatsa be shen va ayin |
| -3 | -3 | -2 | +4 | +3 -6 | higiu mayim ad nefesh |
| +1 -2 | -3 | +2 | +3/-1 | +4 -5 | al tistakel ba kankan... |
| -3 | -2/+1 | +1<br>-1 | +4 | +5 -4 | alaxat kama ve xama |
| +1/-2 | -3 | -2 | +4 | +5/-4 | tsafra tava |
| -3 | -3 | +1/-1 | +4 | +2/-7 | lo yarad le sof daato |

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

names of the two television game programs *saxek ota* and *tse mize*, the children merely described the television shows themselves or mentioned the prizes that the winners receive.

We would like to point out that one of the female informants aged 6 appeared to understand the idioms but claimed that she did not know them, implying that she could not explain them in her own words. Some of the incorrect responses were usually word-for-word repetitions of the idiom itself or a response to the literal meaning, eg., "like clockwork" means "an electric watch", or "ticking". None of the children in this group volunteered any idioms or expressions of their own.

The second group tested was from a second grade class in a local school in a middle class Jerusalem neighborhood. Our 17 informants (6 males and 11 females from the ages of 7-8.6 years old) were interviewed orally. An examination of the data culled from our second grade group reveals that the children responded most to idioms from the media and slang, boys and girls performing similarly. Like the younger group, most of the "incorrect" interpretations of idioms were based on the fact that they perceived the literal meanings of the idioms:"in pink light" being perceived as "he has pink eyes", "a good boy of Jerusalem" being perceived as "he's as good as Jerusalem", "Jerusalem: the best city in the country, he is the best."

The children produced several idioms of their own including: *mazal tov* (good luck, congratulations, said when a glass is broken referring to the traditional wedding ceremony), *seudat melaxim* (feast for Kings, a sumptuous meal), *sof, sof*- ('finally'), *ozen shel pilim* ('elephant's ear', we ourselves are unfamiliar with this idiom), *or shel pil* ('elephant's skin', 'a tough-skinned person who does not insult easily'), *leshagea pilim* ('to make elephants crazy' - 'to drive people very crazy'), *kor klavim* ('dogs' cold', 'very, very cold'), and *derex erets* ('the way of the land' - meaning 'very good manners, politeness'). It is interesting to note that the idioms produced were of two major types: those related to the historical-cultural level and slang idioms, which show a marked affinity towards animal imagery and metaphoric in their use of language.

The third group consisted of thirty-six 6th grade students (19 males, 17 females) from a local elementary school in Be'er Sheva. The subjects were between 11.6 and 13 years of age, ie., approximately at the "critical age" of puberty with regard to language acquisition.

The subjects were given a written questionnaire, which was also read to them out loud before they were asked to fill it out. The number of correct responses from this group is significantly greater than for the younger groups and the distribution with regard to the sex of the subjects does not appear to be a potential variable. These subjects responded particularly well to idioms of the standard, slang and Biblical-historical types. The mistakes made in idiom interpretation are, as for the younger groups, related to literal, word-for-word interpretations, eg., 'in pink light', 'sees everything like pink flowers.'

Some of the subjects paraphrased the idioms with similar idioms of their own, eg., 'a good boy of Jerusalem' - friar - 'push over' or 'Yoram' a regular boy's name associated with Ashkenazi middle class values often used pejoratively to mean 'a good boy'. The idioms they provided for us included 13 idioms in the register of slang with Arab loan words (*xantarish* 'worthless', *sababa* 'good' used similarly to the American expression 'cool' in the fifties); proverbs in sentence length expressions on the literary level (eg., 'one coin in a jar makes a lot of noise') one hybrid from Arabic (*yom asal, yom basal* - *yaum* 'day' in Arabic - 'a day of honey, a day of onion') and slang utterances (*ze yotze li mi ha-af* 'This thing is coming out of my rose' meaning 'I am fed up with it').

We will now present our data for the adult learners of Hebrew as second language. The data were culled from 21 students at the Jewish Theological Seminary at the Neve Shechter campus in Jerusalem. Twelve out of the 21 students (7 males and 5 females) were studying in a program entitled Midreshet Yerushalayim (The Jerusalem Seminary, J.S.), which involves living in Israel on a twelve-month program and is open to both high school and college graduates. The students took introductory courses in Judaic studies as well as Hebrew language courses on various levels. Their agers ranged from 18-35. The remaining 9 students were regular students of the Jewish Theological Seminary (JTS) and plan to become rabbis. They had a strong background in biblical and historical sources and were currently spending a year in Jerusalem studying Hebrew literature as part of their third year of rabbinical school. Both sets of students lived in dormitory conditions at the Neve Shechter campus. On the one hand, they lived together in an English speaking enclave and, on the other, they had a television set at the dormitory and all had radios in their rooms, and were free to associate with native Hebrew speakers.

The J.S. students studying Hebrew for a year are sharply divided with regard to their language proficiency level. Save for our first subject in the lowest class who performed consistently well, the first two classes of Hebrew learners showed a sporadic knowledge of idioms from the standard language, the biblical historical level and, to a lesser extent, slang. All the subjects performed the most poorly with the media expressions. The most advanced J.S. students as well as the rabbinical students predictably performed better, except subject No. 2, whose results were consistently poor on the Biblical-historical level and the media examples.

## CONCLUSION

An analysis of our preliminary findings reveals:

(a) The distribution with regard to the sex of the subjects does not appear to be a potential variable.

(b) All subjects, both the native speakers and the learners of Hebrew as a second language, performed poorly on the media expressions.

(c) The youngest native speakers, ie. kindergarten and 2nd graders, showed sporadic knowledge of slang idioms and the more concrete, literal idioms such as *halox vashov*. Most of the incorrect interpretations of the idioms occurred because they perceived the literal meanings of the idioms. None of the children interviewed could elicit idioms of their own, which may mean that they do not have the concept of idiom as a full-fledged category at this stage of language acquisition bearing out the Semantic Feature Hypothesis discussed in Clark (1973). Our preliminary research in idiom acquisition seems to support Clark's notions that when children first begin to use identifiable words (or expressions, E.A. & Y.T.) they do not have their full (adult) meanings, but may represent only partial entries in their lexicon. It also appears that children can be familiar with many expressions used idiomatically without being aware of their idiomatic or extended use and perceive them only in their literal, word-for-word meanings. The second graders, however, showed some sporadic knowledge of media idioms and historical-cultural ones. The older native speakers, sixth graders, did fairly well on all parts of the questionnaire, particularly with slang and historical-cultural idioms.

(d) The first two classes of learners of Hebrew as a second language showed some sporadic knowledge of standard idioms, and of historical-cultural ones and of the slang idioms, to a lesser extent, and did very poorly on media idioms.

The students in the higher classes of Hebrew as a second language and in the literature class performed best on the historical-cultural idioms.

As a result of our preliminary findings we feel that the data of the adult learners of Hebrew as a second language that we have at the moment is less sufficient than the data we have for the native speakers. One must bear in mind that this particular group of learners of Hebrew as a second language is text- and reading-oriented.

In his thorough and extensive study Nir (1967) found out that religious high school students who are Hebrew native speakers showed better comprehension and higher degree of usage of idioms from the sources than their peers in regular high schools, the reason probably being, as in the case of our group of adult learners of Hebrew, that the religious high school students are text-oriented and study the sources a great deal.

We will be able to arrive at more definitive conclusions after we broaden our informant population to urban schools in both the religious and non-religious streams, rural schools in the kibbutzim and moshavim, as well as various frameworks of the study of Hebrew as a second language.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aphek, Edna and Ira Ikahanman. The function of the preposition *al* in Modern Hebrew, to appear in *Sefer Gross*, Jerusalem.

Aphek, Edna and Yishai Tobin 1981a. The Language of Fortune-Telling: An Interface of Dyadic and Persuasive Communication in a Discourse and Social Semiotic Framework, *Interfaces* 15, 6-10.

Aphek, Edna and Yishai Tobin 1981b. A Linguistic Analysis of the Language of Palm Readers: A Preliminary Analysis, in M. Hartig (ed.), *Angewandte Soziolinguistik*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 165-188.

Aphek, Edna and Yishai Tobin 1982a. On the Non-Specific, Non-Precise, Multi-functional Use of Language by Hebrew-Speaking Fortune Tellers. To appear in *The Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics*.

Aphek, Edna and Yishai Tobin 1982b. The Language of Coffee Reading. To appear in the *Proceedings of the Third European Symposium on LSP*. Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busck.

Aphek, Edna and Yishai Tobin 1982c. Cartomancy as a Discourse and Social Semiotic System. To appear in *Kodikas/Code: An International Journal of Semiotics*.

Aphek, Edna and Yishai Tobin 1982d. On the Language of Fortune-Tellers, *Hebrew University Studies in Folklore* 1, 3.

Berman, Ruth Aronson 1978. *Modern Hebrew Structure*. Tel Aviv: University Publishing Projects.

Bolinger, Dwight 1950. Rime, assonance and morpheme and morpheme analysis, *Word* 6, 117-36.

Bublitz, W. 1978. *Ausdrucksweisen der Sprechereinstellung im Deutschen und Englischen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Burger, H. 1973. *Idiomatik des Deutschen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Chafe, W.L. 1970. *Meaning and the Structure of Language*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Firth, J.R. 1968. Linguistics and translation, in F.R. Palmer (ed.), *Selected Papers of J.R. Firth 1952-59*. London: Longmans, 84-95.

Fraser, Bruce 1970. Idioms within a transformational grammar, *Foundations of Language* 6, 22-42.

Gibbon, Dafyd 1981. Idiomacity and functional variation: a case study of international amateur radio talk, *Language in Society* 16, 21-42.

Gibbon, Dafyd 1982. Violations of Frege's Principle and their significance for contrastive significance, *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 14, 5-24.

Gulich, E. and K. Henke 1980. Sprachliche Routine in der Alltagskommunikation. Überlegungen zu "pragmatischen Idiomen" am Beispiel des Englischen und Französischen I-II, *Die Neueren Sprachen* 78 (1979), 513-30; 79 (1980), 2-33.

Hockett, Charles 1958. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.

Kaddari, M. 1969. Zihuy yexidot semantiyot murkavot be'ivrit, *Proceedings of the Fourth World Congress of Judaism* II, Jerusalem, 135-43.

Katz, Jerry and Paul Postal 1963. Semantic interpretations of idioms and sentences containing them, *MIT Research Laboratory of Electronics Quarterly Progress Report*. 70, 278-82.

Kooij, J.G. 1968. Compounds and idioms, *Lingua* 21, 250-68.

Lees, R.B. 1963. *The Grammar of English Nominalizations*. The Hague: Mouton.

Levi, J.N. 1976. A semantic analysis of Hebrew compound Nominals, in P. Cole (ed.), *Studies in Modern Hebrew Syntax and Semantics*, Amsterdam: North Holland, 9-55.

Lindfors, J.W. 1980. *Children's Language and Learning*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Lyons, J. 1968. *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Makkai, Adam 1972. *Idiom Structure in English*. The Hague: Mouton.

Malkiel, Yakov 1959. Studies in Irreversible binomials, *Lingua* 8, 113-60.

Marchand, H. 1965. On the analysis of substantive compounds and suffixal derivatives not containing a verbal element, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 70, 117-45.

Marchand, H. 1969. *The Categories and Types of Modern English Word Formation: a Synchronic-Diachronic Approach*. Munich: Beck.

Matthews, P.H. 1974. *Morphology: an Introduction to the Theory of Word Structure*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Newmeyer, F.J. 1974. The regularity of idiom behavior, *Lingua* 34, 327-42.

Nir, Raphael 1967. Hebrew Idioms and Their Place in the Linguistic Education of the Secondary School Pupil in Israel. PhD Dissertation. The Hebrew University.

Nir, Raphael 1971. Le verur mahuto sel ha niv ha'ivri, in S. Kodesh (ed.), *Kamrat Memorial Volume*, Jerusalem: The Council of the Teaching of Hebrew, 108-15.

Nir, Raphael 1975. Hitraxvut ha milon ha'ivri keycad? *Lesonenu La'am*, Nos. 258-61.

Nir, Raphael 1980. The semantic structure of nominal compounds in modern Hebrew, *The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 43, 185-96.

Rabin, Chaim. The ancient in the modern: Ancient Source materials in present day Hebrew writing, in Herbert H. Paper (ed.), *Language and Texts*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 149-179.

Sadock, J.M. 1974. *Toward a Linguistic Theory of Speech Acts*. New York: Academic Press.

Searle, J.R. 1969. *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge Unversity Press.

Smith, L.P. 1925. *Words and Idioms: Studies in the English Language*. London: Constable.

Weinreich, Uriel. 1966. Problems in the analysis of idioms, in J. Puhvel (ed.), *Substance and Structure of Language: Lectures Delivered Before the L.S.A. GAULLA 1966*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 114-71.

## APPENDIX

### *Questionnaire 'Idiom Acquisition'*

I. What does it mean? Explain the following underlined idiom.

A.1. Here is the news and their essentials at the beginning.

2. You all must be familiar with the T.V. show, 'Play It'? What does the name mean? When would you use the expression 'play it'?

3. What does the name of the T.V. show 'Get Out of It' mean?

B.1. Look who's here, the Prime Minister, 'In his honor and by himself'.

2 Shoshana is smiling, that's because she sees everything 'in a pink light'.

3. After the roaring argument in class, Rafi said to Joseph: 'between us and between ourselves' you weren't right.

4. We talked about political problems but 'by way of incident' I also raised the problems of education in Israel.

C.1. Listen, 'get down from me', you've simply gotten on my nerves.
2. We don't accept him because he's 'a good boy of Jerusalem'.
3. What do you think, that I was born yesterday, 'stop working on me'.
4. Don't worry, I'll do it 'like a clock'.

II. Idioms from the Sources

Write the appropriate expression from the list in the space provided at the end of the sentence.

1. It's impossible to talk to Joseph about a movie or a book because he's a real ---- ('illiterate', 'ignoramus')
2. Don't believe a thing he tells you ---- ('neither bears nor forests')
3. I can't take this house anymore ---- ('the waters have arrived unto the soul')
4. Anybody who looks at Zehava could think she's a 'tramp' but ---- ('don't look at the jar')
5. Look at that poor cat, after the fight ---- (he) got out with 'tooth and eye'.
6. Joseph was so nervous that he paced the whole night ---- 'back and forth'.
7. He believes in the method of ---- 'eye instead of eye' ---- and that's why he hit me back.
8. If Micha deserves to be punished than Asnat ---- ('on one how many and how many (more)')
9. It's a pity that he's trying to explain (it) to him, it doesen't matter ---- 'he didn't go down to the end of his idea'.
10. He always uses strange expressions, that's why when he met me he said ---- Good Morning (in Aramaic)...

# THE LEARNING OF CONVENTIONAL SYNTAGMS BY FINNISH COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL PUPILS

Liisa Seppänen

*University of Jyväskylä*

Not until the last few years have language teaching methodologists begun to pay attention to the problems of vocabulary learning in the planning of foreign language curricula. In his article 'Foreign Vocabulary Learning as Problem No 1 of Language Teaching at the Advanced Level' Marton (1977) discussed a special problem of the field: the learning of conventional syntagms. The term is so new that it has not so far been explicitly defined. The present paper has two main aims: (1) to give the term a linguistic definition, for which Marton's description of conventional syntagm will be used as a starting point, and (2) to discuss the learning of conventional syntagms on the basis of the results of an experiment carried out among Finnish comprehensive school pupils.

## 1. The Concept of Conventional Syntagm

### 1.1. Marton's description of conventional syntagm

Marton (1977: 40-41) does not give an explicit definition for the term 'conventional syntagm' but characterizes it in rather practical terms:

> conventional syntagm is any phrase or longer syntactic unit which is formed in accordance with the rules of lexical co-occurrence of a given language and which has a certain functional value for its users, i.e. is frequently used and is not a nonce construction. In other words, it is a certain lexical combination of a stereotypic nature... But the notion of conventional syntagm finds its full dimension only when it is considered contrastively...these syntagms...are, comparatively speaking, lexically non-congruent.... ...there is no direct translational equivalence between their corresponding elements.

To illustrate the description, Marton gives only few examples. A *spoilt brat* is a conventional syntagm, while *a lugubrious octopus* is not, because the latter is not 'of stereotypic nature'. One of Marton's contrastive examples is the English expression *watch runs*, which is expressed in Polish *watch 'walks'*.

Accordingly, on the basis of Marton's description, the following two assumptions can be made about the concept:

(1) A conventional syntagm means a co-occurrence of lexical items which are used in everyday language. The co-occurrence is so frequent that the expression has become stereotypic in nature.

(2) A conventional syntagm is not a concept to be discussed in terms of one language only; it is particularly a concept of contrastive linguistics. It is recognized only when expressions of two or more languages are compared with each other. A practical cue for the recognition of a conventional syntagm is the fact that a conventional syntagm is easy to understand for a foreigner but causes difficulties of production, which Marton explains by the phenomenon of native language influence.

The shortcoming of Marton's description for conventional syntagm is mainly in that it does not define the relationship of the concept with two other concepts which are closely related to it, namely the concepts of collocation and idiom. The following two paragraphs will be devoted for this purpose.

## 1.2. Conventional syntagm vs. collocation

The term 'collocation' is usually defined as a habitual co-occurrence of two or more lexical items, for example, the co-occurrence of the items *green* and *grass*, *dark* and *night* (Hartmann et al. 1973: 41). Firth, the pioneer of collocational studies, talked about collocation in this meaning (see, e.g., Firth 1957: 181, 196; 1951: 195). In this sense the term collocation is almost synonymous with the term conventional syntagm. However, in a wider sense of the term, collocation may refer to any co-occurrence of two items. Thus, according to the frequency of occurrence of one item with certain other item, a collocation can be called 'casual' (infrequent) or 'significant' (frequent) (see Halliday 1966: 156; Sinclair 1966: 418).

Ivir (1976) was the first linguist to discuss the concept of collocation in terms of contrastive linguistics. He paid attention to the differences between languages in forming collocations. Ivir (1976: 26-27) claimed that collocations have a great contrastive significance because (1) 'different languages choose to focus upon different aspects of reality' and (2) 'different languages organize their lexical material differently in relation to the same semantic content'. Ivir gives examples of different focusing comparing English and Serbo-Croatian collocational compounds: the English *feature film* has the equivalent 'artistic film' in Serbo-Croatian; the equivalent of *department store* is 'goods house'. In the former example the difference in focusing is manifested in one element only; in the latter the whole collocation is differently focused.

As for the differences in organizing lexical material, Ivir gives examples of adjectives and verbs, in which two languages have different degrees of specificity in the items. The English *dark* is used in collocations *dark mood, dark hair*. In Serbo-Croatian two adjectives (*mračno* and *tamna*) are needed to form these collocations. The English *make* is used in a number of different collocations; in Serbo-Croatian there are a number of verbs, more specific in meaning than *make*, which are used as its translational equivalents.

As can be seen in the examples given above, Ivir's concept of collocation has much the same content as Marton's conventional syntagm. The only difference is that the former includes collocational compounds, while the latter does not. What has been said above about the relationship between the concepts 'collocation' and 'conventional syntagm' is illustrated by Table 1.

| COLLOCATION | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| casual collocation | frequent collocation | stereotypic collocation<br>=<br>conventional syntagm | collocational compound |

Table 1. The description of conventional syntagm in relation to collocation.

## 1.3. Conventional syntagm vs. idiom

The same conceptual vagueness as is characteristic of collocation applies also to the concept of idiom. Idiom is usually considered to be

> a group of words which has a special connotation not usually equal to the sum of the meaning of the individual words, and which usually cannot be translated literally into another language without the special meaning being lost (Hartmann et al. 1973: 106).

Accordingly, idiom, like conventional syntagm, is a group of words (or linguistic items). Both of the concepts include language-specific collocations, i.e. the way of grouping the words is characteristic of the given language only. Because of these features which are common to both of the concepts it is often very difficult to make a distinction between them.

There is, however, one feature in idiom which makes the differentation possible, and that is the semantic change which an idiom has undergone but a conventional syntagm has not. If the items comprising an idiom are separated, the sum of the meanings of the items is not the same as the meaning of the whole. Accordingly, the items comprising an idiom do not have an independent meaning of their own. For example, the idiom *pull someone's leg* does not mean the physical action to which its separate lexical items refer. The same can be said about the idiom *kick the bucket* (see Langacker 1967: 79-80; Ridout et al. 1970: 158). Chafe (1970: 40-42) calls the phenomenon that has taken place in the items a semantic change. After the change, the elements of the surface structure are no longer 'semantic' but 'postsemantic'. The postsemantic elements together form a new, single semantic unit. Therefore, a foreigner does not understand the meaning of an idiom if he knows only the meaning of the items comprising it. This is not the case with the conventional syntagm. The items comprising a conventional syntagm have an independent meaning: eggs are eggs no matter how 'addled' or 'fresh' they are; a watch is a watch independent of whether it 'runs' or 'walks'.

There is one problem which has to be discussed concerning the difference between conventional syntagm and idiom. This is where Marton's description of conventional syntagm is the most inadequate. Marton (1977: 40-41) gives examples of conventional syntagms which Palmer (1976: 98-99) calls 'partial idioms' (*watch runs well*) and examples which Kellerman (1977: 114-115) calls 'language neutral' idioms (*follow the path of least* *resistance*). Yet Marton, in the same article, maintains that conventional syntagm has to be kept separate from the concept idiom. The confusion is caused by the lack of a linguistic definition for the former term.

### 1.4. A linguistic definition for the concept of conventional syntagm

The conventional syntagm includes

(1) such language-specific collocations (non-idioms) which do not have direct translational equivalents in the other language with which the comparison is made, eg. E *poor quality* vs. Fi 'weak' quality; E *have a cup of coffee* vs, Fi 'drink' a cup of coffee;

(2) partial idioms which can be understood on the basis of the separate words comprising them but are expressed in totally different words in the other language, for example:

> E little details escape the eye vs. Fi 'little details remain unnoticed';
>
> E return someone's kindness vs. Fi 'show a similar kindness';

(3) language-neutral idioms in which the difference between the two languages is so small that it does not affect the understandability of the expression, for example:

> E walk the middle path vs. Fi 'go' the middle 'way'.

Table 2. The description of conventional syntagm in relation to collocation and idiom.

<table>
<tr><td colspan="7">COLLOCATION</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">casual collocation<br>(no contrastive significance)</td><td rowspan="3">frequent collocation<br>(language-neutral)</td><td colspan="3">CONVENTIONAL SYNTAGM</td><td rowspan="2">language-specific idiom<br>(totally language-specific)</td><td rowspan="3">collocational compound<br>(language-specific)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">stereotypic collocation<br>(language-specific)</td><td>partial idiom<br>(partially language-specific)</td><td>language-neutral idiom<br>(some language-specificity)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">IDIOM</td></tr>
</table>

## 2. The experiment

### 2.1. The subjects

The test was presented to 84 Finnish ninth-grade comprehensive-school pupils who had studied English as their first foreign language at school for seven years. The pupils belonged to two different course-levels: 51 of them to the advanced course (the more competent of the two groups) and 33 to the general course. The reason for this kind of choice was the aim to compare the knowledge of conventional syntagms with the competence of English in general.

### 2.2. The test

The test consisted of two types of tasks: those requiring comprehension and those requiring production. The items requiring production consisted of sentence-completion tasks, in which the pupils were asked to translate a word or a collocation from Finnish into English in the context of a sentence, for example:

John ___________________ his teeth every morning.
pesee ('washes')

The items requiring comprehension consisted of multiple-choice items in which the pupils had to choose the right Finnish alternative for the given English sentence or word.

The test items were collected from the textbook *Say it in English*, which the pupils had studied at school. The main principle in the construction of the test was that the pupils had been exposed to all the syntagms that they were required to either comprehend or produce in the test. Furthermore, those syntagms that had occurred most frequently in the textbook were presented as items requiring production, and those with a low frequency of occurrence as items requiring comprehension only (see Table 5).

### 2.3. The analysis of the responses

#### 2.3.1. The definition of error

Since the main focus of the study was on semantics rather than grammar, only semantic errors were counted. Accordingly, the responses which contained grammatical or spelling deviations only were counted as correct if the semantic content was correct.

#### 2.3.2. The classification of the responses

The classification of the responses can be seen in Tables 3 and 4. Errors due to the native languages (NL) refer to responses in which a direct translation from one language into the other has been used, for example: *'wash' teeth* instead of *brush teeth*. Errors due to intralingual ($L_2$) semantic generalization refer to responses in which the gap has been filled with a word belonging to the right semantic field but is unsuitable for the context, eg:

> Have you ever *visit* to China?

Errors due to $L_3$ refer to responses in which a Swedish expression has been used instead of an English one; for example:

> *Vad är klockan?* instead of *What's the time?*

Table 3. The relative distribution of the responses into six classes.

| | ADVANCED COURSE | | | | GENERAL COURSE | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Prod. items | | Rec. items | | Prod. items | | Rec. items | |
| | scores | % | scores | % | scores | % | scores | % |
| Correct | 280 | 32.3 | 710 | 92.8 | 34 | 6.1 | 256 | 51.9 |
| Errors due to NL | 387 | 44.6 | 28 | 3.7 | 211 | 37.6 | 46 | 9.3 |
| Intral. errors | 39 | 4.5 | 0 | 0.0 | 2 | 0.4 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Errors due to $L_3$ | 0 | 0.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 3 | 0.5 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Random | 32 | 3.7 | 27 | 3.5 | 51 | 9.1 | 168 | 33.9 |
| Omissions | 55 | 6.3 | 0 | 0.0 | 236 | 42.1 | 26 | 5.3 |
| | N Prod. = 867 | | N Rec. = 765 | | N Prod. = 561 | | N Rec. = 495 | |

Table 4. The relative distribution of the responses to the test items. Abbrevations: NL infl = errors due to NL influence; Other = errors due to other sources; Ra & Om = random responses and omissions; AC = advanced course; GC = general course.

| | Correct % | | NL infl. % | | Other % | | Ra & Om % | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | AC | GC | AC | GC | AC | GC | AC | GC |
| ITEMS FOR PRODUCTION | | | | | | | | |
| brush teeth | 21.5 | 0.0 | 76.5 | 39.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 60.6 |
| go to bed | 56.9 | 18.2 | 43.1 | 63.6 | 0.0 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 15.2 |
| have been to sw. | 9.8 | 0.0 | 29.4 | 36.5 | 49.0 | 30.2 | 11.8 | 33.3 |
| have a cup of coffee | 7.8 | 0.0 | 90.2 | 84.9 | 2.0 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 12.1 |
| ride a bicycle | 21.6 | 3.0 | 78.4 | 78.8 | 0.0 | 6.0 | 0.0 | 12.2 |
| go to see somebody | 54.9 | 33.4 | 37.3 | 42.5 | 4.0 | 5.9 | 3.8 | 18.2 |
| take a shower | 43.1 | 12.1 | 49.0 | 45.5 | 2.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 42.4 |
| like best | 6.0 | 0.0 | 80.4 | 9.0 | 9.6 | 15.2 | 4.0 | 75.8 |
| do the shopping | 21.6 | 3.0 | 68.6 | 36.4 | 2.0 | 9.1 | 7.8 | 51.5 |
| fill teeth | 7.8 | 0.0 | 39.2 | 18.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 53.0 | 81.8 |
| stay over night | 15.7 | 0.0 | 74.5 | 48.5 | 3.9 | 3.0 | 5.9 | 48.5 |
| find sg on the map | 31.3 | 0.0 | 41.2 | 3.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 27.5 | 97.0 |
| last night | 49.0 | 9.1 | 29.4 | 9.1 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 15.7 | 81.8 |
| take the temperature | 35.3 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 58.8 | 100 |
| tell the time | 31.3 | 0.0 | 56.9 | 30.3 | 5.9 | 18.2 | 5.9 | 51.5 |
| poor knowledge | 62.7 | 24.2 | 15.7 | 9.1 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 21.6 | 66.7 |
| tell the way | 66.6 | 0.0 | 17.7 | 3.0 | 13.7 | 3.0 | 2.0 | 94.0 |
| ITEMS FOR COMPREHENSION | | | | | | | | |
| take a bus | 100 | 75.8 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 9.1 | 0.0 | 15.1 |
| when is the train | 56.8 | 33.3 | 35.3 | 45.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 7.9 | 21.2 |
| a bad noise | 94.0 | 39.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 6.0 | 60.6 |
| heavy beard | 100 | 60.0 | 0.0 | 15.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 24.2 |
| poor job | 78.4 | 36.3 | 11.8 | 21.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 9.8 | 42.5 |
| hurt badly | 96.1 | 66.7 | 3.9 | 18.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 15.1 |
| nose is running | 100 | 72.7 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 27.0 |
| lose one's life | 100 | 66.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 33.4 |
| make a bad noise | 94.0 | 39.4 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 6.0 | 60.6 |
| low supplies | 86.3 | 30.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 13.7 | 69.7 |
| be happy about sg | 98.0 | 66.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 33.4 |
| hot meal | 100 | 57.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 42.2 |
| rain heavily | 98.0 | 45.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 2.0 | 54.5 |
| careful with money | 94.0 | 24.2 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 6.0 | 75.8 |
| poor quality | 94.1 | 60.6 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 5.9 | 39.4 |

## 2.4. The results

### 2.4.1. The success in comprehension vs. production

The present study confirmed Marton's (1977) hypothesis that comprehension of conventional syntagms is easier than their production. The same tendency is to be seen in both of the informant groups (see Table 3).

The first conclusion that can be drawn from the test results is that the required items in the test were most probably conventional syntagms (and not idioms, for example).

The question why conventional syntagms are much easier to comprehend than to produce needs to be discussed here. Tarone's (1974: 230) claim that understanding of an utterance is made easier by the prediction of the message may give a partial explanation. However, it does not apply if, for example, the alternatives of a multiple-choice task are equally probable, as is the case when a multiple-choice task is well constructed. Extralinguistic cues, which are supposed to help understanding (see Tarone 1974: 231-232), do not play any part in a written test like the one in question.

Marton's (1977: 48-49) explanation for the difficulty of producing conventional syntagms and for the case of understanding them seems rather believable. The reason for the failure of producing conventional syntagms is, according to him, that conventional syntagms look very simple when they are to be understood only; the learner regards himself 'knowledgeable' although he is not (cf. Kellerman 1977: 74-75). Not until the learner has to produce the syntagm does he notice the difficulty, ie. the different way of forming the collocations in the two languages. If the learner does not see the difference then, he will make an error due to NL; exceptions will be learners who have 'acquired' the syntagm as a whole.

### 2.4.2. The influence of the native language

The second hypothesis of the present study - also based on Marton's (1977) experiment - was that (a) the learner's native language has a strong influence on the learning of conventional syntagms; and (b) NL influence is especially strong in the items that have to be produced. This hypothesis was confirmed (see Tables 3 and 4). The frequency of errors due to intralingual semantic generalization and errors due to $L_3$ (i.e. Swedish) was very low in comparison with that of NL-traceable errors.

Krashen's (1978) theory of 'acquisition and 'learning' might give some explanation for the phenomenon of NL influence. Since only few Finnish comprehensive school pupils have any chance to 'acquire' conventional syntagms in meaningful communication, they have to resort to mere 'learning'. The consequence is that separate lexical items are stored in long-term memory, which leads to the tendency of translating expressions word-for-word from the NL into the foreign language.

Marton (1977: 54-56) holds a different view of the internalization of conventional syntagms. He suggests that rote learning is the only efficient way of avoiding the tendency to use unidiomatic NL-traceable collocations. The lack of conscious effort in $L_2$ learning, even when the learner is exposed to natural language, necessarily leads to the use of NL models in forming collocations. That the phenomenon, which Marton calls 'frozen competence' gets under way as early as the primary stages of $L_2$ learning can be concluded on the basis of the present study.

### 2.4.3. Competence in English and mastery of conventional syntagms

The third hypothesis, based on the views of Swain et al. (1974) and Kellerman (1977), was confirmed by the present study. As was expected, the pupils of the advanced course were far more succesful than the general course pupils in both comprehending and producing conventional syntagms (see Table 3). This is due to the fact that the better pupils have an ability to grasp the meanings of entire expressions without knowing the exact meaning of every item. The tendency to associate each foreign language item with one single native language item is especially strong with the less able pupils.

However, the test results did not show convincingly that the less able pupils make more errors due to NL than the better pupils. This was probably due to the fact that the test was too difficult for the general-course pupils. Therefore, they gave a high percentage of random responses and omissions, while the advanced course pupils left hardly any gaps, and the responses given were for the most part reasonable. Yet many advanced course pupils failed to remember the collocations as wholes; the direct translation led to errors due to NL.

On the other hand, the general course pupils' strong tendency to word-for-word translations can be seen in the responses given to the items in which the required word was very common, for example

'drink' a cup of coffee (instead of *have*)
'drive' a bicycle (instead of *ride*)
go to 'sleep' (instead of *bed*) (see Table 4)

An even more convincing piece of evidence is that the general course pupils made far more NL-traceable errors than the advanced course pupils in the items requiring comprehension only. Thus, a general tendency of general course pupils was to translate the verb *be* in the sentence *When is the next train to London?* with the Finnish verb *olla* 'be' instead of the idiomatic Finnish expression with the verb *lähteä* 'depart'.

### 2.4.4. The relationship between occurrence in textbook and production

The fourth hypothesis of the study was based on the generally known assumption "the more repetition, the better learning result". This hypothesis was not confirmed by the present study. The conclusion can be made by comparing the frequency of occurrence of each item in the textbook (Table 5) and the number of correct responses given to them (Table 4); compare, for example, the occurrence and production of the syntagms *poor knowledge* and *have a cup of coffee*.

The result may be partly due to the fact that the time between the learning of the syntagms and the test may have been several months, even several years. The pupils had not been informed of the content of the test in advance; therefore they did not have any chance for revision. When the time between the exposure to a syntagm and its production is long, the 'retroactive inhibition' (see Marton 1977: 53) of the NL is strong. Moreover, conventional syntagms have 'low semantic power' (see Hatch 1974: 15), that is, they do not have any striking features which would facilitate learning - like, for example, idioms have. Therefore, recurrent exposure to, even production of, a conventional syntagm does not guarantee its acquisition.

Table 5. The frequency of the occurrence of the conventional syntagms in the textbook on the lower and upper level.

| | Advanced course | | | | General course | | | | Sum total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | lower | | upper | | lower | | upper | | Rec. + Prod. | |
| | Rec | Pr | Rec | Pr | Rec | Pr | Rec | Pr | AC | GC |
| brush teeth | 11 | 5 | 1 | | 11 | 5 | 7 | 3 | 17 | 26 |
| go to bed | 18 | 6 | 6 | 3 | 18 | 6 | 9 | 1 | 33 | 34 |
| have been to sw. | | | 18 | 11 | | | 23 | 15 | 29 | 38 |
| have a cup of coffee | 16 | 4 | 14 | 4 | 16 | 4 | 9 | 6 | 38 | 35 |
| ride a bicycle | 23 | 8 | 9 | 3 | 23 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 43 | 37 |
| go to see sb. | 18 | 4 | 15 | 2 | 14 | 4 | 11 | 2 | 39 | 31 |
| take a shower | 9 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 9 | 1 | 13 | 6 | 22 | 29 |
| like best | 11 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 4 | 7 | | 19 | 20 |
| do the shopping | 3 | | 8 | 1 | 3 | | 5 | | 12 | 8 |
| fill teeth | 11 | | 3 | 4 | 11 | | 2 | | 18 | 13 |
| stay over night | 6 | | 22 | 5 | 6 | | 2 | | 33 | 8 |
| find sg on the map | 10 | | 5 | 1 | 10 | | 1 | 1 | 16 | 12 |
| last night | 1 | | 3 | | 1 | | 5 | | 4 | 6 |
| take the temperature | 3 | | 3 | | 3 | | 1 | | 6 | 4 |
| tell the time | | | 2 | | | | 2 | | 2 | 2 |
| poor knowledge | | | 2 | | | | 2 | | 2 | 2 |
| tell the way | | | 1 | | | | 2 | | 1 | 2 |
| take a bus | | | 6 | | | | 4 | 5 | 6 | 9 |
| when is the train | | | 1 | | | | 2 | 6 | 1 | 8 |
| bad noise | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | |
| heavy beard | | | 2 | | | | | | 2 | |
| poor job | | | | | | | 2 | 1 | | 3 |
| hurt badly | | | 2 | 1 | | | | | 3 | |
| nose is running | 3 | | 4 | 1 | 3 | | | | 8 | 3 |
| lose one's life | | | 5 | | | | 2 | | 5 | 2 |
| make a bad noise | 1 | | 4 | 1 | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 6 | 3 |
| low supplies | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | |
| be happy about sg | | | 1 | | | | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| hot meal | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | 2 | |
| rain heavily | | | 1 | | | | 4 | | 1 | 4 |
| careful with money | | | 6 | 1 | | | 4 | | 7 | 4 |
| poor quality | | | 2 | | | | | | 2 | |

## 3. The discussion

The results of the present study show that the Finnish pupils who are leaving comprehensive school have rather few conventional syntagms in their productive repertoire. The influence of the native language in producing the syntagms is strong, while the interference of Swedish is of little significance.

There are, naturally, numerous reasons for the present state of affairs. One of the most important is big teaching groups (up to 34 pupils in one group), in which individual pupils have little chance for productive use of the foreign language during lessons. It is impossible for the teacher to 'correct every ill-formed collocation' (see Marton 1977: 54-56), because he never gets to know every pupil's mistakes. Another reason is that the motivation for learning a foreign language is very low with many less able pupils. This concerns especially the learning of grammar. Therefore, it might be better to restrict the role of grammar in the syllabus and fill the gap with vocabulary exercises, which also seem to be more motivating.

The most interesting result of the study was that even recurrent productive practising of conventional syntagms does not necessarily lead to their internalization. There are two basic ways of internalizing conventional syntagms: acquisition in meaningful communication and overlearning through repetition and exercises. It can be supposed that neither of these ways has been in active use in Finnish comprehensive school. However, on the basis of the present study, it might be possible to draw the following conclusion: the chance to use a syntagm as a means of expressing one's needs, and the concrete associations that arise in the situation help the recall of the syntagm better than learning separate syntagms in isolation from the context that they belong to.

Very few pupils have a chance to talk to or listen to a native speaker; similarly the chance to talk to the foreign language teacher during lessons is also restricted. Therefore, the 'traditional' way of 'learning' has to be developed and made more interesting. If the written or oral vocabulary exercises were clearly linked with the kind of natural language that the pupils listen to on tape, the pupils could learn, perhaps even acquire, the syntagms, so that they could not only comprehend but also produce them. This presupposes that syllabus-planners, textbook-writers, and language teachers realize the significance of contrastive analysis in foreign language teaching.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bazell, C.E., J.C. Catford, M.A.K. Halliday, and R.H. Robins (eds.) 1966. *In Memory of J.R. Firth*. London: Longman.

Chafe, W.L. 1975 (1970). *Meaning and the Structure of Language*. Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1975.

Firth, J.R. 1961. Modes of Meaning, in *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951*, London: Longman 1957.

Firth, J.R. 1957. A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory 1930-1955, in Palmer (ed.) 1968, 96-113.

Gingras, R.C. (ed.) 1978. *Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Teaching*. Arlington, Va.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1966. Lexis as a Linguistic Level, in Bazell et al. (eds.) 1966, 148-162.

Hartmann, R.R.K., and F.C. Stork 1973 (1972). *Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*. London: Applied Science Publishers, 1973.

Hatch, E. 1974. Second Language Learning - Universals?, *Working Papers on Bilingualism* 3 (1974), 1-17.

Ivir, Vladimir, and V. Tanay 1976. The contrastive analysis of collocations: collocational ranges of *make* and *take* with nouns and their Serbo-Croatian correspondents, in *The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian - English Contrastive Project, Reports* 10 (1976), 20-49.

Kellerman, E. 1977. Towards a characterization of the strategy of transfer in second language learning, *ISB-Utrecht* 1, 58-145.

Krashen, S. 1978. The Monitor Model for Second-Language acquisition, in Gingras (ed.) 1978, 1-26.

Langacker, Ronald W. 1968 (1967). *Language and Its Structure*. New York: Brace & World 1968.

Marton, W. 1977. Foreign vocabulary learning as problem nr 1 of language teaching at the advanced level, *ISB-Utrecht* 1, 33-57.

Palmer, F.R. 1976. *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976.

Palmer, F.R. (ed.) 1968. *Selected Papers of J.R. Firth 1952-1959*. London: Longman.

Ridout, R., and D.W. Clarke 1970. *A Reference Book of English*. London: Macmillan.

Sinclair, J.McH. 1966. Beginning the study of lexis, in Bazell et al. (eds.) 1966, 410-430.

Swain, M., G. Dumas, and N. Naiman 1974. Alternatives to Spontaneous

Speech: Elicited Translation and Imitation as Indicators of Second Language Competence, *Working Papers on Bilingualism* 3, 68-79.

Tarone, Elaine 1974. Speech Perception in Second Language Acquisition: A Suggested Model, *Language Learning* 2, 223-233.

# ON SIMPLIFICATION: SIMPLE AND SIMPLIFIED LANGUAGE IN EXAMINATION PAPERS

Irma Sorvali
*University of Oulu*

## Introduction

In this paper *simplification* will be discussed as a linguistic phenomenon. For the paper examination papers written by Finnish university students in Swedish and in Finnish have been studied to discuss the results of a supposed simplification process. In addition, the students have answered a number of questions which deal with various subjects such as phonetics, linguistics, grammar literature, etc. The answers have been studied to see whether there are any differences between the answers to some of these subjects, or between the textbooks and the answers. Do all answers reflect results of simplification? The errors made by the students in their supposed simplified/simple versions in native language and target language will also be studied. The study also incorporates a longitudinal approach to see if the supposed simplified/simple features show any changes longitudinall. Some features in the "content" of the answers will also be examined. How can we measure the content of the answers? How do the students master the facts in the textbooks? Can we measure it? In some cases the students have used two languages Swedish (L2) and Finnish (L1), in the same examination. The productions in L1 and in L2 by the same individuals will be studied.

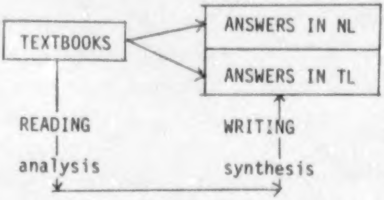
## 1. Simplification

The term *simplification* can be used to refer to a number of phenomena (cf. Widdowson 1979, Tommola 1980, Corder 1981). Here simplification will be discussed as a result of the learning process.

A distinction can be made between the use of a structurally simpler grammar or code and the simplified use of a fully complex code (Corder 1981:108). This will be studied by means of written versions in Swedish (TL) by Finnish (NL) university students. The

Finnish students are also compared with Swedish-speaking students writing their mother tongue. It has been suggested that every native speaker is able to simplify his code and that there may be general, perhaps universal, rules for doing so (Corder 1981:109). Do native-speaking students use a structurally simpler language? Do they shift from their "normal" complex language to something simpler? Is it the target language system that is simplified or is it that of the mother tongue? When writing their examination papers, students must save time. How do they write if they try to produce their answers in an economic way? Or is it linguistic economy, not simplification? Nickel (1981:10) states that linguistic economy of a certain kind is not necessarily the same thing as simplification from the psychological point of view.

When students read text books, they must analyse the content. They actually write a synthesis of the books when they answer the questions. This can be shown graphically in the following way:



Is the language in the answers influenced by the language in the textbooks? Are the answers simple or simplified? In a L2 production the grammatical means are restricted but when producing their answers students use universal structures such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and main and subordinate clauses.

Meisel (1980) makes an attempt to demonstrate that simplification in foreigner talk and foreign workers' speech shows the same characteristics to a large extent. Are there similarities between a NL production and a TL production in the present material? Only some of the criteria of simplicity can however be used and the process of simplification can be explained only partly in what follows.

It is well-known that certain forms and structures may be less frequent or completely absent in a simple/simplified text. The use is simplified, not the code. But such simplification presupposes the existance of a more complex form of the language, as Krzeszowski (1981:74), among others, points out. If students do not use a certain linguistic feature, ie. they avoid it, they master that feature. "Avoidance presupposes choice. Thus, to be able to avoid some linguistic feature, one must be able to choose or to avoid it, ie. to use it" (Kleinmann 1978:158). Students cannot simplified what they do not possess (cf. Corder 1981:110; Wode 1981:55). We can take it for granted that native speaking students (the Finnish-speaking students writing their answers in Finnish and the Swedish-speaking students writing in Swedish, used as a control group) fully possess the system of their native language. Second language learners have already learnt one language, Finnish in this case. What kind of differences are there between productions in Swedish as a TL and Swedish as a NL and further, between Swedish and Finnish, when both of the languages are used as $NL_s$? Can we talk about more or less simple versions or about more or less complex versions?

## 2. The Material

The material for the study reported here consists of essay-type examination papers written by Finnish university students at the university of Helsinki and at the university of Joensuu in 1974 and 1979. The students could answer either in Finnish (L1) or Swedish (L2). The control group was a group of Swedish-speaking students who took part in the same examinations. The examination usually takes place at the end of the first academic year. The Finnish-speaking students had studied Swedish 6-10 years before enrolling at the university. The material consists of about 1200 answers by 200 students. The students were divided into the following groups:

(1) students writing in Finnish L1 (70 students)
(2) students writing in Swedish L2 (62 students)
(3) students writing in Swedish L1 (27 students)
(4) students writing partly in Finnish L1 (39 students)
(5) students writing partly in Swedish L2 (39 students)

The students writing their answers in Finnish or in Swedish used different techniques. Mostly, they wrote essays (about 80 % of the answers) but sometimes also lists of facts (about 7 %) or sometimes they mixed these two types (12 %). The answers were actually rewritten versions of the textbooks.

## 3. Special subjects

As has been pointed out elsewhere (Sorvali 1982), a specific language variant is used in examination papers. The syntactic complexity (the ratio between main and subordinate clauses) is (very) low; the (sometimes very) simple syntax makes answers look like lists of pieces of information. The lexical density (the type-token ratio) is very high. The high lexical density is at least partly due to the test situation; "unnecessary" words have been avoided, and the content in the textbooks has often been reduced.

Below some frequencies for all the material are first given and then the answers dealing with special subjects are dealt with in more detail. A textbook of phonetics (B. Malmberg, *Svensk fonetik*, 1971, pp. 76-79) and those of linguistics (I. Ahlgren, *Språket och skolan*, 1975, pp. 31-37, 66-72, and B. Malmberg, *Språket och människan*, 1972, pp. 78-86) are also compared for their answers. It is to be remembered that groups 4 and 5 include the same individuals, who write partly in Finnish, partly in Swedish (see chapter 7, where the productions in L1 and L2 by the same students are discussed).

The syntactic complexity and the lexical density (LD) in all the groups are as follows:

| Language | Finnish L1 | Swedish L2 | Swedish L1 | Finnish L1 | Swedish L2 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Complexity | 4.1 | 3.6 | 2.5 | 4.1 | 3.0 |
| LDensity | 68.7 | 53.7 | 54.5 | 60.4 | 49.1 |

In their own versions (answers) the students use a very simple syntax, as was pointed out above. The relation between the main clauses and the subordinate clauses in the answers is higher, ie. the complexity is lower, than in Swedish literary prose, where syntactic complexity is about 2.0 (Gullberg 1939:171) and in texts written by Swedish pupils in Sweden, where the syntactic complexity is 1.3 (Hultman and Westman 1977: 190). The complexity in the answers could thus be calles *simplicity*. The syntax in the answers is much simpler than in the textbooks. This can be shown by means of the comparisons between the textbooks of phonetics and of linguistics and the answers based on them. It can be expected that the students transfer the Swedish content in the textbooks to their answers. The syntactic complexity for groups 2 (Swedish L2) and 3 (Swedish L1) was compared with the textbooks, and the syntax was as expected, simpler in L2 than in L1. In every case the syntax is simpler in the answers than in the textbooks:

| Complexity | Textbooks | Group 2 | Group 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| phonetics | 3.6 | 6.1 | 4.1 |
| linguistics | 1.9 | 5.0 | 4.8 |

The low complexity in the textbook of phonetics can be explained by the nature of the topic. The text of the book very often consists of statements of the following kind: "/p/ is a labial voiceless stop." The students often use the same model, or the students' syntax does not differ from the syntax in the textbook of phonetics as much as it differs from other types of material.

As a whole, the syntax is simple in all the groups. The students obviously want to save time; the content is the most important thing, not the language, its correctness and variation. The Swedish native speakers (group 3) have simplified their syntax by using rather simple statements. Moreover, the syntactic simplicity is quite obvious in the Finnish native group (group 1). The native speakers posses the syntax in their mother tongue, but they now use a more simplified code. This is partly due to the examination situation where the students feel nervous. The shortcomings in the mastering of the textbooks can also cause the deviations in the production of language. The Finnish students writing in Swedish L2 (group 2) use simpler syntax in their interlanguage. Their syntax is, however, not simplified, because they do not possess the fully complex code. They cannot simplify what they do not possess. Their syntax is just simple. Gaies (1980:51) came to the following conclusion: "the...non-natives...performed far below adult native speaker norms; the syntactic complexity of their rewritten paragraphs was comparable to that of seventh grade age native speakers."

The clauses and sentences in the answers are relatively short, shorter than in the material used as comparison (Sorvali 1982). The dominance of main clauses and the shortness of the clauses and sentences can be considered as features of simplification.

The LD is rather high in all answers, as indicated by the figure above. The LD is high too when compared with Linnarud's (1976:7) results (43 %). Comparison of the LD in the answers (group 2 and 3) with the LD in the textbooks (phonetics, linguistics) gives the following results:

Lexical density

| | Textbooks | Group 2 | Group 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| phonetics | 60.5 | 58.8 | 61.1 |
| linguistics | 49.8 | 52.6 | 60.1 |

The LD in the versions written by the students in Swedish is, with the exception of the answers in phonetics for group 3, higher than in the original texts written in Swedish; the greatest difference is in the answers in linguistics for group 3.

Consequently, it is obvious that the syntax in the answers in the NL and the TL is not as complex as that in the textbooks, and that the LD in the answers is higher than that in the textbooks. The L2 answers in stylistics can also be mentioned here. The complexity in those answers is 3.8 as against 2.8 in the textbook. The LD in the answers is 58.8, while in the textbook it is 52.3. There are no L1 answers in stylistics in the present material.

The correlation between the syntax and the LD is statistically significant; the syntactic simplicity and the high LD depend on each other. This has been calculated by means of SURVO 76 (Mustonen) by J. Nyblom. Together with the simple syntax, a high LD can characterize the process of simplification.

It has been maintained that, in vocabulary simplification, technical terminology is often replaced by more common words. This is not the case in the present material. The students have very often omitted "unnecessary" words, and they use special terms more frequent than the books; the special terms amount to 28 per cent of all the orthographic words in the students' texts, but only to 12 per cent in the books. The students want to show that they master the facts in the textbooks. The phenomenon could be called linguistic economy.

Finally, an example of the answers is given. The answer in question deals with literature. It consists of 24 main clauses; 20 of these open with a word which functions as the subject in the clause. The initial words of all the clauses are ordered below according to the schema of Diderichsen (1966):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | Gäst hos verkligheten | publicerades |
| | Den | är |
| | Anders | bor |
| | Han | har |
| | Hans far | är |
| | Familjen | bor |
| och | tåg | är |
| | Hemmet | är |
| | modern | är |
| | fadern | är |
| | Anders | är |
| | han | leker |
| | Han | är |
| | Hans mormor | dör |
| och | under hennes sjukdom | kan |
| men | efter hennes död | kan |
| | Anders | ville |
| för | han | kände |
| | I slutet av romanen | träffar |
| | Boken | är skriven |
| | Pär Lagerkvist | använder |
| | Hela tiden | växlar |
| | Pär Lagerkvist | var |
| och | det | syns |

The choice of the finite verb does not show any great variation; the verb *vara* 'to be' is often repeated. This copula occurs 9 times.

## 4. Errors

Widdowson (1979:192) says that error analysis "should provide us with some clear and adequate definition of the process of simplification". We can talk about simplification strategy, and Widdowson (1979:193) suggests "that in general error analysis is a partial account of basic simplifying procedures which lie at the heart of communicative competence and which are not restricted to people engaged in the learning of a second language system". He (1979:196) continues: "I want to define simplification as the process whereby a language user adjusts his language behaviour in the interests of communicative effectiveness." This has given reason to study errors in both L1 and L2 production. All the students want to communicate, even though this communication has only one direction: from student to teacher.

The error analysis here deals with errors, mistakes and lapses (cf. Corder 1973:256-294), and thus the term *error* is used regardless of type. The errors are devided into orthographic, grammatical and lexical (-stylistic). The average number of errors by a student is 8.2 (Finnish NL), 8.7 (Swedish NL) and 33.7 (Swedish TL). The average number of errors in groups 1, 2 and 3 is as follows:

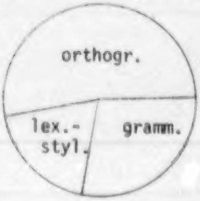
| Error/Student | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Group 1 | Group 2 | Group 3 |
| orthographic | 4.7 | 7.6 | 4.4 |
| grammatical | 1.9 | 15.4 | 2.3 |
| lexical(-styl.) | 1.6 | 10.7 | 2.0 |
| total | 8.2 | 33.7 | 8.7 |

There are striking similarities between the native language users, ie. the Finnish-speaking students writing in Finnish (L1) and the Swedish-speaking students writing in Swedish (L1). The Swedish L2 productions by the Finnish students have much more errors, which is not unexpected.

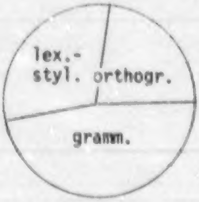
When writing in their mother tongue, the students make errors of the same type, regardless of the language, but the detailed features of the errors are necessarily identical. The relationship of the three types of errors to all errors is shown as follows:

| | Group 1 | Group 2 | Group 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| orthographic | 57 | 22 | 50 |
| grammatical | 23 | 46 | 27 |
| lexical(-styl.) | 20 | 32 | 23 |
| | 100 % | 100 % | 100 % |

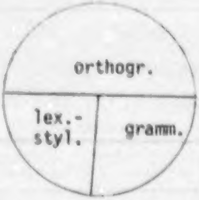
The same distribution can be demonstrated graphically:



Group 1



Group 2



Group 3

Learners having different mother tongues produce similar quantities of errors (cf. Corder 1981:89). This might perhaps be regarded as evidence of universal simplification. There exists at least the possibility that there are common errors in different languages (cf. Widdowson 1979). But it must be stated at the same time that the errors are evidence of success, and not of failure, as Widdowson (1979:197ff.) points out. The students writing under a time pressure and they can feel nervous and tired; this may be a partial explanation to the errors in the NL. But do the students avoid errors when they are writing in a simple way in the TL? If they do, the actual number of errors could perhaps be greater. At the same time a low frequency of errors does not mean a non-existence of learning difficulties.

The students commit errors, both in the NL and in the TL, even though they avoid some constructions, eg. subordinate clauses. The NL students write simplified versions, the TL students simple versions. Many of the errors, especially the frequent orthographic errors in the TL productions, are due to the examination situation. The errors are connected with the simplification process. The students make errors in spite of the fact that they master the language. To save time, they write quickly, and they try to compress the content of the textbooks. In doing so, they make errors in the language. They write in a kind of telegraphese.

It cannot always be taken for granted that the students master the given facts of the language even if they make no errors. It is possible for them to avoid constructions which they feel to be difficult, which is usual in free written production. In translation, for example, they cannot avoid difficulties on the same way; translation is error-provoking (see Corder 1974:126; Sorvali 1982).

## 5. A longitudinal study

It has been maintained that interlanguage is rather unstable. A longitudinal study will be carried out to examine the L2 versions written by the same individuals on different occations. The final examination for the approbatur is the lowest of three grades. And the students go on for the final examination for the two higher levels which are called cum laude and laudatur. In the material, there are at present only two students who have taken their examinations for the lowest and highest grade in Swedish. There is an interval of 5 to 6 years between the examinations. It is natural that in this context a rather reserved attitude will have to be taken towards such individual longitudinal studies. There are some special problems: the interval between the examinations could be shorter; there ought to be more subjects; and the number of the students who take the examination for the highest grade is rather small.

As to the complexity, LD, and error density is the longitudinal study, the results are as follows:

The longitudinal Study

| | | Complexity | LD | Errors |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Interval | Student | | | |
| 5 years | A | 1.9 - 2.6 | 47.5 - 53.8 | 2.4 - 2.1 |
| 6 years | B | 2.4 - 2.0 | 49.1 - 48.2 | 1.3 - 1.6 |
| Σ | | 2.2 - 2.3 | 48.3 - 51.0 | 1.9 - 1.9 |

It can be noticed that the error density in the later versions is the same as in the earlier versions by A and B. There is a weak tendency to syntactic simplicity in the productions by the student A, and a tendency to complexity in the productions by B, whereas the LD has risen in A's texts, and fallen in B's texts. For A and B both the syntax is a somewhat simpler, the LD higher in the versions written by the same persons after some years. How can this be result be explained? Is it a mere chance? There are always individual differences, and a limited material like this cannot always be relied on. A larger material would make is possible to find better explanations. The two versions written 5 to 6 years later show, however, that the features which have been considered as simple do not become more complex with more advanced studies. On the contrary, they become more strongly marked. The simple features can thus be regarded as resistant features.

## 6. "Content"

The students must show what they master and how they master the facts in the textbooks. Their answers are evaluated after the examination. The same criteria are used by evaluators regardless of the language chosen. The students are given marks from 0 to 6, and the mark given can be considered as a measure of 'content'. The correlation between the mark and the errors in language is negative, which means that the errors in language are of no significance for the mark. If the mark is a measure of knowledge, and the error density a measure of competence (ie. ability of producing an understandable correct second language), the facts which the students know of L2 are different from their competence of this language, or these two things need not necessarily mean the same. When the teacher gives the final mark after the examination, he should give the mark on the basis of two criteria: one is the (theoretical) knowledge of the language, the other the (practical) competence. These two are naturally complementary to each other.

The Swedish-speaking students have better marks, ie. 3.9 than the Finnish-speaking students, who have 3.7 both in Swedish L2 and in Finnish L1. The mark in the Swedish answers can be compared with other qualifications in the following way:

| | Group 3 Swedish L1 | Group 2 Swedish L2 | Group 5 (mixed) Swedish L2 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mark | 3.9 | 3.7 | 3.7 |
| Complexity | 2.5 | 3.6 | 3.0 |
| LD | 54.5 | 53.7 | 49.1 |
| Errors | 0.6 | 3.0 | 3.3 |

Only the Swedish answers are included. The students in group 3 possess the full system of Swedish, and they are only ones who can read the textbooks in their native language. Both group 2 and group 5 represent interlanguage. There is a tendency from the 'positive' to the 'negative' as reflected in native group 3 as against interlanguage groups 2 and 5. The 'positive' qualities, ie. the mark, the complexity, and the LD, are diminished and the 'negative' features, ie. the error density, become greater. (For content in text, see Källgren 1979.)

## 7. Subjects with answers in the NL and the TL

There were 39 persons who wrote partly in Finnish (NL) and partly in Swedish (TL) in the same examination (group 4 and 5). It has been stated eg. by Linnarud (1979:222) that there is a correlation between the productions in the NL and the TL by the same individual. This can be explained by similarities between the languages (NL and TL); the structural differences between Swedish and Finnish must not therefore be disregarded. According to a statistical analysis, there are very few correlations between the features analysed here in the NL and TL productions in the present material. A correlation matrix has been calculated by means of SURVO 76 (Mustonen) by J. Nyblom:

Correlation matrix

S = Swedish
F = Finnish

| | F Compl. | F LD | F Errors | F Mark |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| S Compl. | 0.284 | | | |
| S LD | | 0.145 | | |
| S Errors | | | 0.236 | |
| S Mark | | | | 0.541 |

It is only the mark that shows a correlation between the productions in the NL and in the TL. As was stated above, the requirements in the examination are the same in all the cases; the answers are evaluated by the the same criteria regardless of the choice of the NL or the TL. Otherwise, there are no internal correlations between the complexity, LD, and error density. One reason can be found on the structural differences between the NL and the TL. When writing in their NL, the students *simplify* the code which they fully possess; they write *simplified* versions in their mother tongue. They want to communicate, and they want to show what they master, and they produce the text rather quickly to save time. The answers should have as good a content as possible, and this is also the aim in the TL answers. But when writing in the TL, the students do not fully possess the code, and they use a language which is *simple*: they write *simple* versions in the target language. They too want to communicate and make themselves understood. The time restrictions in the examination situation can cause greater problems for TL writing than for NL writing; something, ie. the language and its structure, must be sacrificed for something else, ie. the content.

### B. Discussion

Meisel (1980:37) writes about restrictive simplification, where a grammatical system is reduced, and elaborative simplification, which means an extension of an earlier system, a step towards the target language. He points out that the distinction between these two is not clear. Restrictive simplification is predominant at early stages and later on it is replaced by elaborative simplification. The native language groups in the present material could he considered to represent restrictive simplification, which is, according to Meisel, almost identical to simplification in a native speaker's simplified registers. The simplification found in the interlanguage groups in the present material can represent an elaboration of the grammatical system. The answers by the groups show results of the simplification process; the answers in the NL are simplified, while the answers in the TL are simple. All the groups have at least one aim which is the same despite the language: to save time in writing to show the mastering of the facts. For this purpose, the students write in a special non-normal way. They have learnt the facts (analysis), and they write their answers (synthesis). They mostly try to express themselves in as compact a way as possible. They try to shorten the text by avoiding 'unnecessary' words. This has often resulted in high values for LD and in low values for syntactic complexity.

The answers are reduced and/or rewritten versions of passages in the textbooks. Students could be given some training in how to answer in examinations. They could use more rewritten articles, texts, etc. for their training. A very important thing must further be kept in mind: the textbooks and their quality. Perhaps what Bolinger (1977:296) has said is true: " The ideal textbook will never be written and therefore cannot be described..." The textbooks, both their content and their language, always play a decisive role in the learning process. What kind of facts the students recall and what kind of language they use when they reproduce them are questions which have been discussed above only partly. In the future, at least one question ought to be added to the problems of simplification: What do the students *leave out* when they write their answers in the final examinations?

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bolinger, D. 1968. *Aspects of language*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Corder, S.P. 1973. *Introducing applied linguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Corder S.P. 1974 Error analysis, in J.P.B. Allen and S.P. Corder (eds.), *Techiniques in applied linguistics*, The Edinburgh Course in Applied Linguistics 3, London: Oxford University Press.

Corder S.P. 1981. *Error analysis and interlanguage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Diderichsen, P. 1966. *Elementær dansk grammatik*. København: Gyldendal.

Felix, S.W. 1980. Interference, interlanguage, and related issues, in S.W. Felix (ed.), *Second language development: trends and issues*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Gaies, S.J. 1980. Sentence-combining: a technique for assessing proficiency in English as a second language, in B. Ketteman and R.N. St. Clair (eds.), *New approaches to language acquisition*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Gullberg, H. 1939. *Berättarkonst i Per Hallströms prosa*. Diss. Göteborg.

Hultman, T. and M. Westman 1977. *Gymnasistsvenska*. Lund: LiderLäromedel.

Kleinmann, H.H. 1978. The strategy of avoidance in adult second language acquisition, in W.C. Ritchie (ed.) *Second language acquisition research: issues and implications*, New York: Academis Press.

Krzeszowski, T.P. 1981. Contrastive analysis in a new dimension, in J. Fisiak, (ed.) *Contrastive linguistics and the language teacher*, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Källgren, G. 1979. *Innehåll i text*. Ord och stil. Språkvårdssamfundents skrifter 11. Stockholm: Studentlitteratur.

Linnarud, M. 1976. *Vocabulary and sentence connection in written free production: Some comparisons between student performance in Swedish and English Ä2 höstterminen 1975/Lärarhögskolan, Malmö.* Rapport Nr. 19/76.

Linnarud, M. 1979. Lexikal täthet och betydelsesamband, in K. Hyltenstam (ed.), *Svenska i invandrarperspektiv. Kontrastiv analysis och språktypologi*, Lund: LiberLäromedel.

Meisel, J.M. 1980. Linguistic simplification: a study of immigrant workers' speech and foreigner talk, in S.W. Felix (ed.) *Second language development: trends and issues*, Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Nickel, G. 1981. Aspects of error analysis (EA): Errare humanum est, *AILA Bulletin* 29: 1-28.

Sorvali, I. 1982. Language in examination papers, to appear in *IJOAL*:

Tommala, J. 1980. Some parameters of simplification, in K. Sajavaara, A. Räsänen, and T. Hirvonen (eds.), *AFinLA Yearbook 1980: Papers in Language Learning anf Language Acquisition*, Jyväskylä: AFinLA.

Widdowson, H.G. 1979. *Explorations in applied linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wode, H. 1981. *Learning a second language I. An integrated view of language acquisition*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

**Jyväskylä Cross-Language Studies** (earlier Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies) edited by Kari Sajavaara and Jaakko Lehtonen

---

1. Kari Sajavaara and Jaakko Lehtonen, eds. 1975. A Select Bibliography of Contrastive Analysis. Out of print.
2. Kari Suomi. 1976. English Voiceless and Voiced Stops as Produced by Native and Finnish Speakers. Out of print.
3. Risto Moisio and Eero Valento. 1976. Testing Finnish Schoolchildren's Learning of English Consonants. Out of print.
4. Kari Sajavaara and Jaakko Lehtonen, eds. 1977. Contrastive Papers. Out of print.
5. Kari Sajavaara and Jaakko Lehtonen, eds. 1980. Papers in Discourse and Contrastive Discourse Analysis.
6. Kari Sajavaara, Jaakko Lehtonen, and Raija Markkanen, eds. 1978. Further Contrastive Papers.
7. Jaakko Lehtonen and Kari Sajavaara, eds. 1979. Papers in Contrastive Phonetics.
8. Barbara S. Schwarte. 1982. The Acquisition of English Sentential Complementation by Adult Speakers of Finnish.
9. Kari Sajavaara, ed. 1983. Cross-Language Analysis and Second Language Acquisition 1.
10. Kari Sajavaara, ed. 1983. Cross-Language Analysis and Second Language Acquisition 2.

Department of English
University of Jyväskylä
SF-40100 Jyväskylä 10
FINLAND

ISBN 951-679-105-0
ISSN 0358-6464